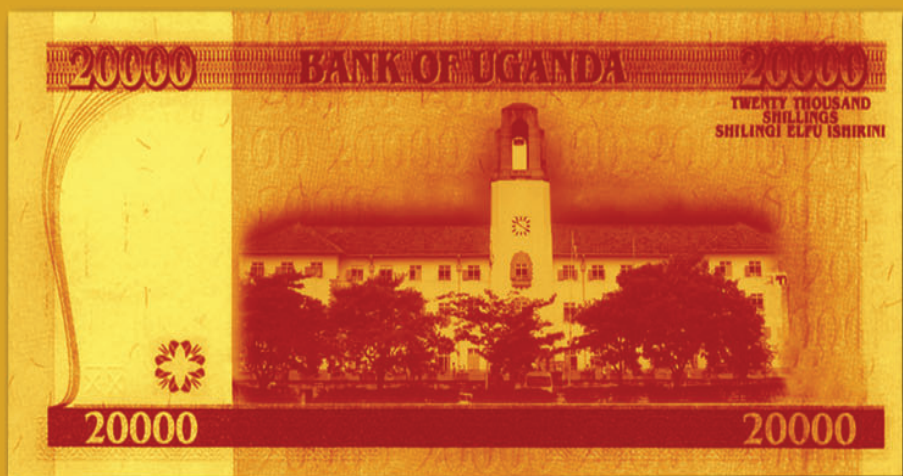


Scholars in the Marketplace

The Dilemmas of Neo-Liberal Reform
at Makerere University, 1989-2005



Mahmood Mamdani

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at Makerere University,
1989–2005

Mahmood Mamdani



Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa

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ISBN: 2-86978-201-2

ISBN 13: 978-2-86978-201-3

Typeset by Hadijatou Sy

Cover designed by Ibrahima Fofana

Printed by Imprimerie Saint Paul, Dakar, Senegal

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CODESRIA would like to express its gratitude to the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA/SAREC), the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Ford Foundation, MacArthur Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, NORAD, the Danish Agency for International Development (DANIDA), the French Ministry of Cooperation, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rockefeller Foundation, FINIDA, CIDA, IIEP/ADEA, OECD, OXFAM America, UNICEF and the Government of Senegal for supporting its research, training and publication programmes.

To my colleagues in the Makerere Study and Research Group

Dent Ocaya-Lakidi, Sallie Simba Kayunga, Joy Kwesiga, Josephine
Ahikire, Nansozi Muwanga, and the late Quintas Obong
and to Morris Nsamba.

Contents

List of Tables	vi
Preface and Acknowledgements	vii
Chapter One:	
The Reform Process: The First Phase	1
Chapter Two:	
Winners and Losers	51
Chapter Three:	
Commercialisation	118
Chapter Four:	
Decentralisation	193
Conclusion	255
Selected Bibliography	270
Index	291

List of Tables

Table 1:	Government Recurrent, Proposed and Approved Funding for Makerere University, 1987–1988 to 2001–2002	9
Table 2:	Government Proposed and Approved Development Funding for Makerere University, 1990–1991 to 2001–2002	10
Table 3:	Public Funding (Recurrent) of Education Sector in Constant Prices	17
Table 4:	Private Student Intake, by Programme, 1993–1994 to 1996–1997	37
Table 5:	Registered Student Admission by Faculty, 1992–1993 to 2003–2004	55
Table 6:	Private Student Intake by Programme, Faculty of Arts, 1993–1994 to 2003–2004	66
Table 7:	Student Admission by Programme and Sponsorship, Faculty of Arts, 1992–1993 to 2003–2004	68
Table 8:	Research Projects, Approved in 1995, Funded in 1999	103
Table 9:	External Part-Time Staff Hired by Department, Faculty of Arts, 2001–2002	126
Table 10:	Staff Employed in Five Departments, Faculty of Arts, September, 2002	126
Table 11:	Hire of Space at Makerere University by Faculty, Rate, September, 2002	153
Table 12:	Hire of Space in the University by Rent-Paying and Rent-Receiving Units, First Term, 2003–2004	154
Table 13:	Recurrent Budget Votes for University Units, 1990–1991	214
Table 14:	Annual Faculty Income, 1993–1994 to 2000–2001	215
Table 15:	The Fee Distribution Formula as It Evolved, 1992–1993 to 2003–2004	217

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is a case study of market-based reform at a single university—Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda. But the study also illuminates larger issues raised by neo-liberal reform of higher education. Because neo-liberal reform at Makerere has been held up by the World Bank as the model for the transformation of higher education on the African continent, these issues have a particular resonance for the African context.

At a general level, the Makerere case epitomises the fate of public universities globally in a market-oriented and capital-friendly era. When the reforms unfolded in the early 1990s, they were guided by the World Bank's then held conviction that higher education is more of a private than a public good. Unfortunately for Makerere, the Museveni government in Uganda embraced the World Bank's perspective with the uncritical enthusiasm of a convert, so much so that even when the Bank began to re-think its romance with the market, Uganda's political leadership held on to the dogma with the tenacity of an ideologue.

My *main* objective in this book is to question this dogma by shifting the terms of the debate on the public and the private: rather than pit the public against the private, and the state against the market, I seek to explore different relations between the two. Based

on who sets the terms of the relationship and who defines its objectives, I outline two different kinds of relationships between the public and the private in the organisation of higher education. In the soft version, the one I call a limited 'privatisation', the priorities are set by the public sphere. In the hard version of the relationship, the one I term 'commercialisation', it is the market which defines priorities in the functioning of a public university. If limited *privatisation* sums up a relationship in which the public (including the state) leads the private (including the market), *commercialisation* reverses the terms in an arrangement where the private leads the public. The difference is this: limited privatisation is the critical appropriation of the market for public ends, whereas commercialisation is the subversion of a public institution for private purposes.

The case study is a warning against commercialisation—the rule of the market—and an invitation to explore softer ways by which to harness the forces of the market in the public interest. In the process, I question two foundational assumptions of the Makerere reform that still continue to be held with different degrees of conviction. As is characteristic of the formulation of a dogma, both assumptions present alternatives as absolutes: in one case, the public vs. the private; in the other, disciplinary expertise vs. inter-disciplinary relevance.

The first erroneous assumption sustaining the Makerere reforms is that publicly-funded students are a net liability for the university, but privately-sponsored students are a net asset. The university's own figures for 2003–2004 showed the opposite: whereas the public treasury paid the university a uniform figure of shs 3 million per government-sponsored student, private sponsors paid an average fee that was less than half—about shs 1.2 million per student. In spite of this, most members of the Makerere community—the academic staff, students, and even administrators—believe that

private students are a money-minting machine and publicly sponsored students a financial liability. How can this be?

I argue that the illusion is sustained by how the Makerere budget is structured. The treasury transfers public monies for publicly-sponsored students exclusively to the central administration which spends these monies for centrally-administered activities, including basic salaries and wages of permanent staff of the university. In contrast, the revenue of teaching units comes mainly from private student fees, and is used mainly to pay a top-up to *their* staff. Thus the conclusion drawn by all teaching units, whether or not they are revenue-earning, that the way to increase their income is to maximise the number of privately-sponsored students they teach.

The Makerere reform joined an infatuation with privately-sponsored students to an extreme decentralisation that in turn fed it. Different constituencies pushed decentralisation for their own reasons. The World Bank believed that the most effective way to promote market forces in the university was to give maximum freedom to revenue-earning units. Within the university, decentralisation was advocated in the language of justice: its often radical promoters in different Faculties argued that the university belongs to those who work in it, particularly the academic staff, and that student fees are the rightful returns of the labour of the academic staff. Even if this version of privatisation was weighted in favour of the academic staff, there was still no room for a larger public interest in this reformed conception.

The more the reform decentralised decision-making to teaching units and left the welfare of staff to the ability of units to generate more money, the more the units restructured their activities in response to the market. The cumulative result radically transformed the units, both internally and in their relationship to one another. On the one hand, the tendency was for the leadership of units to pass on to more entrepreneurial Deans, Directors and Heads who

sought to administer without constraint from their Faculty base; on the other hand, market forces unleashed sharp competition between Faculties, Institutes and Departments. From the poaching of academic staff to turf battles over academic programmes, I narrate multiple instances of how the forces of self-interest amplified by commercialisation eroded the institutional integrity of the university from within.

Just as the first erroneous assumption pits the public and the private as opposites, the second held up the pursuit of inter-disciplinary relevance as the negation of discipline-based expertise. In this instance, too, I argue for an understanding of the complementarities between the two, so as to build inter-disciplinary pursuits on a strong disciplinary foundation. It is the failure to do so that has eroded the quality education historically associated with Makerere.

The Makerere reform went alongside a proliferation of inter-disciplinary academic programmes, but without an anchor in core disciplines. The result has been to devalue higher education into a form of low level training lacking a meaningful research component. The ‘innovators’ of the Makerere reform called this training ‘professionalisation’. I argue that this *low level training* is better described as ‘vocationalisation’ that is traditionally associated with community-based colleges.

Who is responsible for the Makerere crisis and what is the way forward? The responsibility, I believe, lies first and foremost with the political leadership in government and the top management at Makerere: if the former was determined to push the admission of more and more privately-sponsored students down the university’s academic throat even when Senate expressed doubts about whether a large-scale entry of privately-sponsored students was possible without a lowering of standards, the latter failed to blow the whistle on the reforms even when its negative consequences were amply

documented by several Senate committees. Inspired and backed by World Bank consultants, both government and management trumpeted the seemingly inevitable ‘necessity’ of commercialising higher education. Implemented in a context of extreme government repression that followed the strikes of 1989–1991, the reform had the ring of the formula that Margaret Thatcher had used in a different context, also to push neo-liberal reforms: TINA (‘There Is No Alternative!’). The lack of adequate debate in different constituencies and effective coordination between the centre and the units led to short-sighted plans and a proliferation of an institutional crisis. I discuss various aspects of this full-blown institutional crisis in different chapters.

I have two suggestions for the way forward. The first has to do with reducing numbers and re-thinking the relationship between disciplines and inter-disciplinary pursuits and, in that context, underlining the critical role of research in higher education. The second has to do with the question of financing higher education without cutting access.

Most of the expanded student numbers at Makerere are the result of a proliferation of non-research vocational programmes in the Humanities-based Faculties. The pursuit of these programmes requires neither research facilities nor a campus environment. To teach vocational courses in a campus context is to indulge in an expensive and unjustifiable luxury. The alternative is to remove vocational programmes from the university and to mount them in single-building, community-based, vocational institutions. These may be established as so many community colleges outside Makerere or may be run as separate evening colleges on the Makerere campus. In either case, each college should have a separate administration and budget—even if it employs Makerere staff on a part-time basis. It is only when the vocational part is excised from Makerere that the university can be restructured as a public research university.

My second suggestion is to call for a widespread debate, both within and outside Makerere, on how to finance a research university. Already, a few conclusions can be drawn from the Makerere experience. Instead of a sharp division between two groups of students, one supported with public funds and another privately, *every* student should have a mix of public and private support in a merit-based admission system. This system can then be supplemented and supported by a need-based programme of loans and fellowships for disadvantaged students.

Beyond this, we need to think through the important question of how to raise adequate public funds for a public research university. Should there be an educational tax whose proceeds are earmarked for higher education? Should there be regional quotas for regional students—East Africa and the Great Lakes—whose cost is born by respective regional governments? Should research universities—rather than all of higher education—be defined as a preserve of the reconstituted East African Community so that we return to the notion of a research-based University of East Africa with many national campuses, each of which with a different disciplinary, interdisciplinary and professional specialisation? None of these questions can be answered by an intellectual in the isolation of his or her study. All require public deliberation in a public discussion.

I wrote this book for two reasons: a commitment to Makerere as my home university, and a conviction that research must be an integral component of higher education, particularly in countries with a recent colonial past.

I was a teaching assistant at Makerere in 1972 when I was uprooted by Amin's expulsion of Asian residents and citizens of Uganda. I returned to Kampala in 1979 and was appointed a member of the academic staff at Makerere in 1980, and then Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences in 1982–1984. Disappointed at the failure of the post-1986 leadership of the National Resistance

Movement (NRM) to appreciate the importance of higher education for both development and citizenship, I became a leading member of the Makerere University Academic Staff Association (MUASA) and then a member of its Strike Steering Committee in 1989–1991.

My interest in the organisation and direction of higher education on the African continent has been nurtured through various experiences, both positive and negative. The positive impulse came from the University of Dar-es-Salaam where I taught from 1973 to 1979, a period rich in original thought, debate and innovation. The negative experience was at Makerere University (1980–1993) and the University of Cape Town (1996–1999). At Makerere, I lived through a period where successive governments systematically devalued higher education, either because they saw it as a dangerous centre of independent and critical thought (the Obote II period) or because they embraced the World Bank line of the 1980s that higher education was not productive (the Museveni period). At the University of Cape Town, I witnessed a university administration that paid lip service to ‘transformation’ but was so terrified of losing control of the process of change that it came to see any innovative idea as a threat to its position and power.

Convinced that higher education was a public good of vital social, political and economic significance, I looked to participate in institutional initiatives that would nurture this vision. I believe this quest was central to sustaining two decades of involvement in the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA): in the process, I represented East African universities on the Executive Committee in 1985–1991 and served as the president of CODESRIA from 1996 to 2000. At home, disappointment with the decline of institutional support for research at Makerere led a group of us (M.A. students at Makerere, activists in the trade union movement, and myself) to form Uganda’s first non-government public research institute, Centre for Basic Research

(CBR), in 1988. In 1991, CBR joined with CODESRIA to organise an Africa-wide symposium on 'Academic Freedom and Social Responsibility of the Intellectual' in Kampala in 1991. Finally, my CODESRIA experience led to an invitation in 2002 to chair the Africa Committee of UNESCO's global Forum on Higher Education, Research and Knowledge.

The process that led to the writing of this book began with the constitution of a study and research group at Makerere University in June, 2003. Members of the study group were former colleagues at Makerere, based either at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, or at the Institute of Women and Gender Studies. We met regularly over 2003–2004, when I had research leave from Columbia University in New York, and less regularly during 2004–2006.

The composition of the study and research group changed over time, for reasons that were mainly beyond our control. Dent Ocaya-Lakidi, professor in political science at Makerere, was struck with partial paralysis; Quintas Obong, a lecturer in the political science department, passed away one night in his sleep at the University of Cape Town, where he had gone to defend his PhD dissertation; some others could not conclude their effort due to the heavy teaching and administrative load which had become the lot of most academic staff at the 'reformed' Makerere.

To members of the study and research group—Dent Ocaya-Lakidi, Sallie Simba Kayunga, Joy Kwesiga, Josephine Ahikire, Nansozi Muwanga, and the late Quintas Obong—I owe a special debt. Dent, Sallie and Nansozi participated in the formation of the study design at the outset and all members read through and commented on draft versions of the main chapters of the book. To acknowledge a shared commitment, I dedicate this book to my colleagues in the Makerere Study and Research Group on Higher Education.

Through the entire period of research and writing, from 2003 to 2006, I was assisted by Morris Nsamba who worked as my research assistant. Morris had just completed his B.A. in the political science department at Makerere. Besides his great energy and intelligence, he knew the ‘reformed’ system of Makerere well enough to navigate its nooks and crannies. By joining the ‘old boy’s network’ of my generation and through this tenacity, we managed to get our hands on almost all the documentation we needed for this study. Morris catalogued the accumulated minutes and papers, read and discussed many of these with me, before I embarked on the solitary task of writing the manuscript. This would undoubtedly have been a much lesser book without the participation of Morris Nsamba.

The first draft of the manuscript was presented to a one day conference of invited members of the Makerere University academic and administrative staff in August, 2005, in the University’s Senate Building. Between 60 and 70 attended—mainly top administrators, Deans, Directors, heads of departments, and individual researchers. Several participated as formal discussants. To all of them, but particularly to E. Beyaraza, Joe Oloka-Onyango, Fred Jjuko, Nansozi Muwanga and Ruth Mukama, my thanks.

I would also like to thank two external reviewers for their helpful comments: Professor Arthur Gakwandi of the Department of Literature at Makerere University, and Professor Dominic Boyer of the Department of Anthropology at Cornell University—both respectively commissioned by Fountain Press of Kampala, and CODESRIA (Dakar), the two publishers of this book. Alex Bangirana and Francis Nyamnjoh, my editors at Fountain and CODESRIA respectively, guided the erratic journey of this book to a fruitful destination.

Funding for research came from Sida/SAREC of Sweden, which had also funded the work of the UNESCO Forum on Higher Education Research and Knowledge. In both instances, our collabora-

tion was born of a shared commitment. There was little to commend in the World Bank's notion of a globalised but flattened world, resting on a foundation of uniform processes. But this was a world imagined without history, and so without diversity. For different histories make for different presents, why oneness of the world cannot be assumed to be a sameness. The World Bank's notion of a flat world, *sans* history, can only entrench a global division of knowledge whereby research is concentrated in a few technologically advanced countries—the knowledge-driven economies—with its results disseminated to the majority of humanity living in market-driven economies and therefore fit to be no more than passive consumers of knowledge with no other future to look forward to than that of clones. But unless we are to reproduce an impoverished vision of colonial vintage, we cannot think of global knowledge as a permanent trade-mark of advanced countries with its results transported elsewhere as turnkey projects. Concrete conditions require an understanding of concrete processes, which is why there can be no independent thought—indeed no independence—without institutions to sustain independent research and produce relevant knowledge. The key institution is the research university. To Sida/SAREC and to Katri Pohjolainen Yap and Hana Akufo, programme officers who helped translate this conviction into resource support, my deepest thanks. My thanks also to Allison Howard, my Assistant at Columbia University, who helped proffread the page proffs.

Finally, I have two in-house acknowledgements. The first is to the Centre for Basic Research, which agreed to house this project institutionally. The second is to my intimate companion of eighteen years now, Mira, who I thank for inspiring the main title of this book.

Mahmood Mamdani
Kampala
August, 2006

Chapter One

THE REFORM PROCESS: THE FIRST PHASE

Uganda was exceptional among British twentieth century colonies to have a resident university. Makerere University, first established as a vocational school in 1922, was envisioned not as a national university but as a university for Britain's East African colonies. It evolved from a technical school to a rather expensive, small-scale, residential institution in the post-Second World War period. The purpose was to train a tiny elite meant to take the reins of leadership in the newly independent country. Students admitted to Makerere received a full scholarship, covering tuition and full board, health and transport and, indeed, even an allowance known as 'boom' meant to cover their personal needs. The scholarship was offered on the basis of merit rather than need. From the point of view of the students who got the fellowship, entry into Makerere was an extraordinary opportunity. But from the point of view of the society at large, the small numbers of those admitted to Makerere were evidence of extraordinary privilege. It was clear to many that, if utilised fully, the teaching facilities of the university could support many more students. Just because Makerere the hotel was full did not mean that Makerere the university also was.

The first serious discussion on the need to reform this elitist colonial constitution was at the time of independence in 1962. It focused on two issues: first, the need to Africanise the academic staff, and then, the relevance of teaching programmes. But there was hardly any discussion of reforming either university finances or university governance. This was partly because of the assumption, common to the nationalist era, that the university was an institution for the training of human resources for the newly independent nation, and therefore needed to be seen and run as one of several apparatuses of the newly independent state. But the delay in raising this question also reflected the protracted nature of the political crisis in Uganda: the university too hopped from one crisis intervention to another. Even when reform came, it was more an ad hoc response to a crisis situation than the outcome of a deliberated process.

When reform did come to Makerere University, it came—not surprisingly—in the aftermath of a failed intervention. The NRM (National Resistance Movement) government that came to power in 1986 attempted to change the university in top-down fashion. Initial plans called for putting all incoming students through ‘ideological classes’ at a school at Kyankwanzi run by cadres of the ruling movement. That project failed. Then a set of changes, calling on students and their families to pay a small share of their expenses while at the university (referred to as cost-sharing) was decreed. When students questioned the changes, either the rationale for them or the autocratic manner of introducing them, government responded with force, deploying armoured personnel carriers in 1989, and armed police who shot students in 1990.¹ The confrontational approach led to a crisis in the short run and to far-reaching internally-introduced changes in the medium term.

The university went through a dramatic and fundamental change in the 1990s. Often referred to as *a reform*, this change was driven

by a process of deep-seated privatisation at one of Africa's leading public universities. Rather than the result of dictation from on high, the process was shaped by multiple forces, both on the ground and those in high decision-making circles: students, staff, administrators, Ministry officials, outside consultants, the country's President, and the World Bank. Those on the ground—particularly the academic staff, students and key administrators—played a central role in the process in the early stages. But the alternatives from which they chose were not freely arrived at; they were framed, and thus limited, by government policies and practices. In line with recommendations from the World Bank, government put a tight squeeze on funds for higher education. Within that context, student action, supported by staff, blocked off the alternative known as cost-sharing: that students and their families would bear some of the cost of higher education. Pressed against the wall, with no other alternative but to generate themselves the funds from which to augment incomes for a living wage, and to purchase rudimentary teaching materials, the academic staff made a set of choices that led to the entry of fee-paying private students alongside government-funded students. This shift came to be known as 'privatisation'. It was supported by the students on campus—since they were already all government-supported, they would not be directly affected by the shift—and by top administrators. As it was implemented, the reform increasingly received warm support, from government officials and from President Museveni. Key foundations and the World Bank were delighted and celebrated the 'reform' for pioneering policies that the Bank said it had long been preaching but had had little success in convincing African governments and universities to implement.

The reform was more a survival strategy than a first preference. This is why the tendency to celebrate the reform in an uncritical manner, opportunistically pushed by the World Bank with the in-

dulgence of a few key foundations, has had the unfortunate consequence of delaying a critical appraisal of its varied outcomes. My objective in doing this research is to promote such a debate. Seeking to avoid the extremes of celebration and debunking, I hope to distinguish positive from negative features of the reform, and to do so with full respect for those who shouldered the responsibility of survival in difficult times, without the benefit of hindsight.

I believe the positive features of the reform to be three-fold. *First*, the vitality and the energy of the reform process derived from the fact that it began with an effort to attain an appropriate balance between top-down and bottom-up processes. Whereas the authorities (from the World Bank to the Government of Uganda) confined themselves to defining policy alternatives, implementation depended almost wholly on the agency and enthusiasm of those on the ground, mainly the academic staff. The reform held for nearly a decade because it empowered academic members of staff as a group. *Second*, the reform dared to challenge the elitist nature of the colonial university in several respects, particularly the presumption that it had to be a residential university where the number of students that could be taught was always limited by the numbers that could be accommodated in the university's residential facilities. *Third*, the reform began to explore multiple sources of funding a public university. In the context of a fiscal crisis of the state, it questioned the traditional wisdom that higher education must be wholly supported by the public purse. The reform introduced the notion that students and their families must also share a part of the cost of higher education.

Each of these contributions developed negative features in time. Staff participation and decentralisation degenerated into a form of corporatism that privileged Deans, Directors and heads of units over ordinary academic staff. The number of students expanded so rapidly that they far exceeded what could be reasonably

accommodated within existing teaching and research facilities of the university. Driven by the search for more funds, the expansion of numbers paid no attention to the teaching and research facilities available. Finally, the reform never explored alternative forms of 'privatisation', particularly the question of different mixes of public support and private financing, and to what extent public support may be need-based and to what extent merit-based.

In the final analysis, however, my critique hinges on a single argument about the direction of the reform: that it failed to distinguish between 'privatisation' and 'commercialisation'. In my view, these involve two different types of relationship between the public university and the market. By 'privatisation' I refer to a relationship between the public and the private (including the market) which is so structured as to allow public authorities to limit and to subordinate the relationship to the realisation of public objectives. It is, in short, a relationship where the goals of the university continue to be publicly defined. I call it an 'external' relationship with the market. In contrast, 'commercialisation' reverses the relationship between the public and the private, thereby subordinating the public university, mainly or wholly, to the logic and the dynamic of the market. I trace the main consequences of rampant 'commercialisation' in my discussion of poaching, of turf wars, of the deterioration of quality, and, in general, of the mushrooming of a parallel private university alongside the public university known as Makerere.

My writing strategy has been dictated by the nature of the reform process, that it was less a linear development than a trial-and-error process. This is particularly important since the reform was so decentralised that few seemed to have an idea of what was going on beyond their turf, why there was no overall account of the reform process within the university. There was no blue print that guided its unfolding. This means that before I can discuss key issues that

define the reform, I need to reconstruct the process that was the reform. To discuss issues in context will require a comprehensive narrative of the reform process. I have constructed this narrative mainly by a reading of the proceedings of different bodies that governed the university, both at the Centre (the University Council, the Senate, the Finance Committee, the Committee of Deans, etc.) and at the level of units (mainly, Minutes of different Faculties and Faculty committees), and supplemented it with data from different offices and departments and interviews with key actors in the reform process.

Privatisation occurred in a context defined by three related developments: a decline in state revenues, a shift in governmental priority from higher to primary education, and an explosion of staff and student strikes against cost-sharing proposals.

The Financial Crisis

A reading of the minutes of the University Council and its Finance Committee affirms the following observations. Overall, the generally precarious character of the University's finances reflected the budgetary crisis in government. The university's budget faced cuts whenever the government faced an unexpected budgetary problem. For example, when the exchange rate for the dollar rose steeply from 300 to 450 shillings over a year,² and government responded to the general rise in prices with a 25 percent cut in all budgeted non-salary expenditures in September 1984, the University was not spared. Similarly, when government effected a 30 percent mandatory cut in its 1990–91 budget, the university had also to share the misfortune.³ The University's normal response was to plead special status, and to urge either the Ministry of Education or the country's President to intervene with the Treasury to give it special consideration.

An extreme example from 1990–1991 will help illustrate the University's dilemma. As summed up by the Vice Chancellor to the 89th Meeting of Senate, the crisis began when the University budgeted shs 10.6 billion for recurrent expenditure but was 'allocated' only shs 3.5 billion; it deepened when government reduced the University budget by 30 percent, to shs 2.6 billion; finally, it exploded when actual payments by the end of 1990 fell short of allocation by shs 330 million. Council was informed that if only the 330 million were paid, the University would be able to function only up to 30 April 1991; if the 30 percent cut in the budget was withdrawn, it would be able to go on until the end of May, but would still need 'additional funds to complete the financial year ending 30 June, 1991'.⁴ The University Council's response was to seek a meeting with the President, also the Chancellor of the University. This particular time, the University was lucky: the Chancellor 'agreed and directed' that the Treasury release the sum of shs 330 million due to the University for the July–September quarter, that the University be exempted from the 30 percent mandatory cut on the government budget, and that the Treasury 'release an additional shs 347 million as supplementary funds for running the University'.⁵

By their very nature, however, both interventions and exemptions were temporary and a special favour. They did not change the regular course of relations between the Treasury and the University. It was a matter of time before the University would face the next budgetary cut. That happened in March 1992, when a circular from the Treasury directed Council to identify areas where cuts could be introduced to reduce the overall budget by 17 percent. When Council responded that this would not be possible in light of a projected deficit, another circular (dated 2 April 1992) informed Council that the allocation for most items (except salaries and food for students) for the final quarter of the financial year would be

slashed by a drastic 68 percent. The result was that University funds were able to cover expenses for only 45 of the 91 days left in the academic year. This time, Council sought the intervention of the Minister concerned: at a special meeting convened for the purpose on 13 April 1992, the Minister agreed on a mixed solution: restoring the allocation for the month of April while cutting some items in the recurrent budget, and promising to re-negotiate with the Treasury the budget for the rest of the year.⁶

Special cuts and special considerations aside, those concerned could discern several developments in the University's relations with the Treasury. At an emergency meeting on 14 April 1992,⁷ the University Senate identified four regular patterns in the continuing budgetary crisis. First, there was always a difference between the budget the University proposed and the budget government approved: 'normally the University is allocated less than 50 percent of its Budget bids'. Second, there was a difference between the amount allocated in the budget and what was actually released. A third factor affecting the flow of funds to the university was a reduction in the cycle for which funds were released, from quarterly (three monthly) to monthly instalments. Yet a fourth adverse development was a decision by government to distinguish between those expenses it considered core and compulsory, for which the release of funds was automatic, and those it considered discretionary, for which an extended correspondence with the Treasury was necessary to secure release. Of 25 items in the University budget, only eight were subject to automatic release; as an emergency meeting of Council noted, the rest were 'suspended, and could only be given special releases after lengthy correspondence with the Treasury'.⁸

Table 1 shows the difference between funds requested by the University and those approved by government for different years:

Table 1: Government Recurrent, Proposed and Approved Funding for Makerere University, 1987–1988 to 2001–2002, in Ugandan Shillings

Year	Makerere	Proposal	Approved as a % of Proposal
1987–1988	953,376,840	621,397,000	65.2
1988–1989	2,713,454,955	1,591,958,206	58.7
1989–1990	6,920,898,437	2,426,369,000	35.1
1990–1991	10,656,533,898	3,570,694,000	33.5
1991–1992	13,240,824,584	6,285,819,000	47.5
1992–1993	15,773,370,717	8,183,429,000	51.9
1993–1994	19,426,395,301	8,641,950,000	44.5
1994–1995	32,938,968,033	12,766,675,000	38.8
1995–1996	37,926,408,573	20,328,433,000	53.6
1996–1997	37,900,000,000	20,579,406,000	54.3
1997–1998	47,800,000,000	21,041,938,000	44.0
1998–1999	51,700,000,000	23,300,000,000	45.1
1999–2000	51,700,000,000	22,900,000,000	44.3
2000–2001	71,800,000,000	23,228,973,000	32.4
2001–2002	71,800,000,000	27,635,238,000	38.5

Source: 1987–1988 to 1989–1990 Makerere University Strategic Plan. 1990–1991 to 2001–2002, Makerere University Final Account.

Table 2: Government Proposed and Approved Development Funding for Makerere University, 1990–1991 to 2001–2002

Year	Makerere Proposal	Approved	Approved as a % of Proposal
1990–1991		921,162,307	
1991–1992		1,344,049,000	
1992–1993	12,000,000,000	1,084,000,000	9.0
1993–1994	20,000,000,000	1,036,624,000	5.2
1994–1995	20,000,000,000	1,267,322,000	6.3
1995–1996	20,000,000,000	1,461,100,000	7.3
1996–1997	20,000,000,000	679,820,000	3.4
1997–1998	20,000,000,000	975,883,000	4.9
1998–1999	3,100,000,000	615,600,000	19.9
1999–2000	6,900,000,000	675,000,000	9.9
2000–2001	8,000,000,000	818,031,000	10.2
2001–2002	8,000,000,000	1,268,973,075	15.9

Source: Makerere University Final Accounts, 1990–1991 to 2001–2002

Because drastic reduction in state funding of higher education translated into a deepening financial crisis at Makerere, it is often presumed that the financial factor was the driving force behind the crisis. But the fiscal crisis of the state did not automatically have to translate into a sharp decline in state funding of higher education. After all, the same period that saw a drastic cut in the flow of state funds to higher education also saw a dramatic rise in the funding of primary education. To make sense of otherwise contradictory trends in the funding of education, we need to take into account a *second* development: this is the fundamental shift in state policies in favour

of primary and against higher education. Even then, we need to bear in mind that the funding crisis of higher education was not an inevitable consequence of greater emphasis on primary education; rather, it was the result of a deliberate decision to devalue higher education as an object of public policy.

To understand the choices made within given financial constraints, we need to focus on policy-making. The shift in policy, in turn, reflected a change in the political balance of forces shaping the parameters of policy-making in the field of education. In the period that followed the signing of the first Structural Adjustment Programme between the IMF and the Uganda government in 1989, the single most important actor defining the parameters of policy making in the field of education was the World Bank.

This chapter deals with four issues: *first*, the policy context in which the reform unfolded, and which set the constraints within which different constituencies at Makerere University made their choices; *second*, why one alternative course (cost-sharing) was rejected and another (privatisation) embraced; *third*, how different constituencies—in particular, the academic staff—pushed to define the boundaries and the content of privatisation in practice; and, *finally*, the two phases of privatisation, the first a conventional phase (1991–1995) that involved no more than an entry of privately-funded students into the University and, second (1995 on), a deep-seated change in curriculum designed to attract more privately-funded students into particular Faculties.

Three different constituencies responded with proposals to the University's ongoing and accelerating financial crisis: the University Council, the Government and the World Bank. The difference was this: the Council faced the drying up of financial resources as if it were a natural fact, something beyond its control; the Government was in a position to set priorities, but within constraints of

diminishing resources, and with the full knowledge that it would have to shoulder responsibility for policy outcomes; and the World Bank was a powerful creditor who was in the enviable position of setting ‘conditionalities’ without being held responsible for failed policies and adverse consequences.

Not surprisingly, the Council’s first option was to look for ways to cut costs rather than to change policy priorities. This is why, long before government commissions raised the issue, Council began to explore cost-sharing as an option. As early as its 47th meeting in January, 1986, Council asked the Finance Department to ‘work out figures to show the actual cost to the University of maintaining a student in a Hall of Residence during the first term of 1985–86’, and resolved ‘that for the future the University might consider a system whereby parents could be asked to supplement financially, the stay of their children at the University as the maintenance of a student had become too expensive well beyond the funds provided by Government’.⁹

But Council was not in a position to change the policy context within which the University operated. In retrospect, it is clear that this context was increasingly being defined by the World Bank.

The World Bank and Higher Education

The intellectual muscle of the Bank was powered by the fact that it was in a position to translate recommendations into ‘conditionalities’. Unlike other think tanks that must persuade, the Bank was in a position to twist debtor arms—especially when they were weak.

Some of the Bank’s concerns were shared by other critics of the colonial experience. This was particularly so when it came to the critique that many of the colonial universities, like Makerere, were reproducing an expensive British colonial model for training a narrow elite. Also broadly shared was the Bank’s concern with the

lack of university autonomy in matters of governance, as reflected in the 1970 Makerere University Act which had drastically revised the university's statutes to subordinate its running even more fully to the government in power. Not only did the Act confirm the head of state as the chancellor with full powers to appoint all senior administrators, it also gave the minister responsible for education express powers to direct the affairs of the university 'in the national interest'.

But the Bank's ambitions went beyond curtailing privilege and broadening the space for university autonomy. In a series of policy papers that it wrote starting in 1986,¹⁰ the Bank put forth more concrete ideas for radically altering the governance structure of universities. Two of these came to be central in shaping the future of Makerere University. The first idea was based on the argument that the rate of return on investment in higher education was much lower than that in primary and secondary education respectively. The Bank claimed that this was because its high net cost yielded fewer beneficiaries; thus, even if the benefit was great, it was more private than social. Thus, argued the Bank, it was only right that the beneficiaries share some of the exorbitant costs of producing a university graduate.¹¹ In the new policy framework, the World Bank appealed in the language of both the market and democracy: on the one hand, it championed cost efficiency; on the other, it cleverly played primary against higher education in the name of equity. The Bank called for two linked reforms: the reduction of the role of the state in higher education, and the shift of state funds from higher to primary education.

The second idea the Bank put forth concerned the need to introduce far-reaching financial and administrative decentralisation in the running of universities. The argument was that universities needed to shift from the stick to the carrot in their efforts to enhance performance. The Bank said this required identifying actual and

potential income generating units as cost and revenue centres: units that earn money must be allowed to retain enough of it or else there would be no incentive to earn more. The shift was not only to the university as a self-accounting unit but to turning income-generating units within the university into so many driving forces on the ground.¹² The net effect would not only be to shift from a collegial to a highly corporate model of governance but also to unleash centrifugal forces in the university as so many competing centres for generating income.

We shall see how the Bank's policy recommendations were closely reflected by key developments in the reform process at Makerere. For the moment, however, we need to see the ways in which the Bank's vision informed three key government-appointed commissions.

Shift in State Policies

The shift in perspective at the state level was reflected in the reports of three different state-appointed commissions: the 1987 Visitation Committee, the 1989 Economic Policy Review Commission (EPRC) whose recommendations were embodied in a government White Paper, and the 1991 Visitation Committee. Without exception, all of them agreed on the need for cost-sharing. But they differed on how to share costs. *The 1987 Visitation Committee* set the tone: 'The time has come for Makerere to reduce her reliance on the public purse'. Scarce funds needed to be spent wisely: 'Under priorities and resource allocation, the University and the Government must decide whether the available scarce funds should be for students' upkeep or for funding academic infrastructure of the Faculties and Departments... As of today the University priority is to feed the students, pay their travelling allowances and "boom", i.e., students' welfare'. To increase revenues and reduce costs, it recommended a dual strategy: 'revenue generation' through 'commercial units'

(Kabanyolo University Farm, the University Bookshop, the Printery, and the Guest House) and 'cost sharing': 'We recommend that the Government should introduce the principle of cost-sharing in financing University education so that the increasing costs can be shared between the sponsor and the Government'.¹³

For the intellectual foundations of cost-sharing, we need to turn to the Report of the *1989 Economic Policy Review Commission*. Charged with suggesting policies to reform the entire system, the Commission responded with the full logic and language of the World Bank's educational policy analysis, whereby privatisation and commercialisation were described as 'greater democratisation', which was then highlighted as the key objective of educational policy. This is how it defined the problem: whereas student population at all levels had risen from 1.4 million in 1980 to 2.9 million in 1988, there was an absolute decline in resources available for education over the entire period. The consequence was two-fold: One, 'decreasing finances coupled with increasing enrolments have resulted in deterioration of the quality of education'. Two, 'a shift towards channelling of public resources to higher education has also affected the quality at lower levels of education, especially at the primary level'. Thus the anomaly: 'The present situation of educational financing where parents are required to share a greater burden for basic primary education and relatively low burden for higher education perpetuates inequalities of opportunity in the society... The allowances and free education at the higher level provided to students of rich parents, financed from general taxation, is in a way a benefit provided by the poor to the wealthy members of the society'. As a form of redress, the Commission called for the allocation of over two-thirds—precisely shs 607 billion (71.7 percent)—of development expenditure in education over 1990-95 to primary education alone, followed by shs 147.8 billion (24.4 percent) to secondary education and then shs 18.2 billion (3 percent) to 'other

levels and types of education'. It is in this context that it renewed the call for cost-sharing and revenue generation in higher education: 'the total cost of higher education should be shared by both the Government and the beneficiaries... Students and their parents should assume full responsibility for meeting all non-instructional expenses such as the cost of transportation to and from their homes, pocket money, feeding and dependent allowances'.¹⁴

The significance of the *1991 Visitation Committee* was that it was the first to recommend privatisation at Makerere. The Report of the Visitation Committee joined two recommendations: to admit private fee-paying students and to do so by introducing evening classes which would make for a better and fuller use of University facilities.¹⁵ The difference between the EPRC and the 1991 Visitation Committee lay in the following: in spite of its full embrace of the World Bank's perspective, the EPRC shied away from recommending the entry of privately-sponsored students into Makerere, but not so the 1991 Visitation Committee.

Government adopted the core recommendations made by both the EPRC and the Visitation Committee in its *1992 Education White Paper*.¹⁶ The White Paper put forward cost-sharing and privatisation as complementary strategies. It proposed a timetable for sharing full-board costs. Starting in 1993–1994 (75 percent government and 25 percent private) and progressively upping the private share of costs to 50 percent in 1995–1996 and 75 percent in 1996–1997, it envisaged that 100 percent of all boarding costs would be privately paid by 1997–1998. In addition, the White Paper called for the admission of 'privately-sponsored students' to 'publicly-funded tertiary institutions' to 'democratize higher education'. But there was still a proviso attached: 'provided they have satisfied entry requirements and the pedagogical facilities in a given institution can accommodate them'.¹⁷

By that time, 1992, the leadership of Makerere was convinced that 'it was necessary for the University to break away from total dependency on government funding which was subject to annual cuts'. The one organisation eager to support this line of thinking was the World Bank. The Vice Chancellor informed Council 'that a committee to be financed by the World Bank had been appointed to look into possible ways of funding the University'.¹⁸ In 1993, a World Bank-supported study on ways of revitalising higher education in Uganda, led by T. O. Eiseman, agreed that developing evening courses would be an effective way of making better use of existing capacity.¹⁹

Shifts in Policy Implementation

In the years that followed, there was a dramatic shift of public resources from higher to primary education. The World Bank calculated that recurrent public expenditure on primary education had gone up from 52 to 68 percent since 1995, whereas the share of tertiary education had decreased from 28 to 16 percent during that same period.²⁰

Table 3: Public Funding (recurrent) of the Education Sector in Constant Prices²¹

Level	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-00
Primary	53,047	89,033	110,229	124,659	117,339
Secondary	20,700	26,698	28,643	27,960	27,366
Tertiary	29,300	31,349	28,902	28,230	27,574

Source: World Bank Calculation from Macroeconomic Programme, cited in David Court, 'Financing Higher Education in Africa: Makerere University, The Quiet Revolution'.

When the new Council was inaugurated in 1999, the then Minister of Education led with an important statement of policy that put in

words that had indeed been government policy since 1989. He reminded Council members that the White Paper on Education had called for 'greater support to the Universal Primary Education Policy'. Making no bones about its implications for the funding of higher education, he still claimed to be 'optimistic that the state could not afford to ignore universities'. But he advised the University to reflect on how to restructure itself, pointing out that 'the World Bank had released US \$20 million as funds for completing the exercise of restructuring the University'. He pointed to the availability of two experts, David Court of the Rockefeller Foundation and the World Bank, and M. Mulumba of the Ministry of Public Services, to assist in the restructuring process. More specifically, the Minister urged the Council 'to identify *activities to privatise and functions to decentralise* to the Faculties and Departments' (Emphasis mine).²²

In April 1999, David Court of Rockefeller/World Bank visited Makerere and wrote a paper celebrating 'the quiet revolution' at Makerere. We shall later look at this paper in detail. For now, it is sufficient to note its main emphasis: pointing out that 'over 30 percent of the University's revenue comes from internally generated non-government resources', David Court hailed 'the power of privatisation' and credited it with a double achievement: one, making possible 'the introduction of a performance based incentive structure' so that 'once again academics are being paid to do what they were trained for, in a place dedicated to this purpose', and two, spreading 'an entrepreneurial ethos within and beyond the university' which 'has washed away the former hand-out dependent mentality'.²³

The Crisis of Cost-Sharing

Cost-sharing was introduced at Makerere in 1990–1991. All pocket allowances were abolished. These included six categories of allowances: textbook, stationery, travel, living-out, dependants, and personal allowances to students. The book allowance was replaced by a Book Bank system, whereby students borrowed reference materials to supplement lecture notes. Every newly admitted student was required to pay a registration fee of 50,000 shs. For the time being, the University still operated on a residential model, but its responsibility was limited to accommodating, feeding and teaching students.²⁴

The debate on cost-sharing revolved around two issues: the changes proposed and the method of introducing them. When it came to the substance of the proposed changes, there were few who disagreed that in a country where student families paid for primary and secondary education, free higher education for a select few made little sense. The discussion focussed on how the financial burden of higher education should be divided between the sponsors of the student and the state, and the importance of a means test to determine student need. The discussion also focussed on the appropriate method for introducing these changes, one that would take into account the circumstances of different kinds of students—poor and middle class, local and upcountry—by involving them through discussion at each stage of implementation. The point was best summed up by the Committee of Deans when it noted that ‘the abolition of allowances was rather sudden and could have been effected in phases’. Recognising that the abolition of living out allowances would impact on ‘a large number of non-resident students and students from far upcountry (who) would face severe hardships since the Halls of Residence could not accommodate all the students’,

the Committee suggested 'that the University should start negotiations with the Ministry of Education in order to persuade them to implement these decisions in phases'.²⁵

Having arrived at their decision, however, the authorities were determined to implement it with no delay. The result was a spate of strikes that sealed the fate of cost-sharing. The irony is that whereas cost-sharing met its doom in the teeth of opposition at Makerere, privatisation was embraced in its full glory, also at Makerere. The difference was that cost-sharing was a top-down strategy pushed by the University Council and the administration and opposed by staff and students, whereas privatisation found its champions among none other than staff and students. To make sense of why the same forces that bitterly opposed cost-sharing so eagerly embraced privatisation, we need to understand how different constituencies at Makerere came to define their options in the era of neo-liberalism.

The Strikes: From 1989 to 1994, Makerere University was rocked by a spate of strikes and militant action by staff and students. Whereas the staff organised for a 'living wage', students marched in resistance to the introduction of 'cost-sharing' measures by government. The overall leadership for the strike movement came from the academic staff of the University, organised as the Makerere University Academic Staff Association (MUASA). For both staff and students, the target of the strike was less the administration than the government. Both were convinced that the administration was no more than the front paw of the government, an executing agency for policies that were not only made elsewhere but were also introduced without consultation. Thus, when MUASA organised the pivotal strike of May 1989, and the University Council invited its leadership to meet for a discussion, Council minutes recorded that the MUASA executive declined to attend 'on grounds that Council had nothing to offer'.²⁶

Strike became the preferred mode of action and expression for disaffected constituencies at Makerere. When the new University budget was made public and it became known that 'professional allowances' would be granted to teaching staff only, there followed two more strikes, both in October, first of teaching assistants and then of non-academic staff, each demanding that they too be acknowledged as professionals.²⁷ Similarly, when the Ministry of Education issued a circular in August abolishing certain student allowances, students began a sit-down strike against 'cost-sharing' measures.²⁸ The Student Emergency General Assembly of 1 December 1990 'passed a vote of no confidence in the Vice Chancellor because he was a member of the Visitation Committee of 1987 which had recommended Cost-sharing and (was) also Chairman of the Education Policy Review Commission which similarly suggested cost-sharing in education'. Government ordered a closure of the University²⁹ on 10 December, sending all students home. MUASA issued a press release two days later supporting the student strike.³⁰ For its part, Government continued with a coercive and administrative response, compelling students individually to sign statements that combined a total renunciation of the strike with a blanket acceptance of all future decisions of the authorities. The statement went as follows:³¹

I do hereby undertake to abide and be bound by the following conditions of re-admission:

- (a) That I shall at all times willingly accept decisions of the University authorities and/or government on my general and academic welfare.
- (b) That I recognise that out of public funds, Government meets for me the tuition fees, accommodation and maintenance fees, the charges for Special Faculty Requirements and medical expenses.

- (c) That I accept the following allowances which for the time being shall be paid to me by Government in cash or in kind as the case may be: (Allowances to be filled in after Government has decided).
- (d) I shall be responsible for the rest of my other requirements.
- (e) I undertake not to participate overtly or covertly in behaviour and acts of agitation likely to lead to disaffection and discontent resulting in strike action the punishment for which, shall be expulsion from the University.
- (f) I also undertake not to engage in acts of indiscipline and hooliganism individually or in party with other students as such participation will result in stern disciplinary action

I do hereby undertake to seek the truth, to study diligently, to obey the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and all others in authority in the university, to observe the regulations of the University, to exercise discipline and to promote its good as far as in me lies.

The statement not only required the returning student to acknowledge the new facts on the ground—that the government's role as public provider (b) was qualified by several policy changes (c, d); it also required that the student sign a statement of abject surrender in school boy fashion.

University rules were revised in a draconian fashion, affecting not only the freedom to organise but also the freedom of speech. The University Council thus endorsed the following rule at its 56th meeting in December 1989: 'No student or group of students shall, with ill intent print, publish or disseminate or otherwise circulate any false or fabricated information of any sort'.³² These measures implemented, the University re-opened on 22 January 1990. The last student transport and book allowances were paid out in March,

after which book banks were established in all Faculties except the Social Sciences and Education.³³

But widespread student opposition to cost-sharing continued and the government's will to implement the measure sagged visibly. As early as November 1989, the new Minister of Education had been at pains to distance himself from 'cost-sharing' proposals: he told Senate that he was not personally responsible for repealing student allowances since the cabinet paper on the subject had been prepared and passed before he became Minister.³⁴ For their part, University authorities recommended to government the following year that student allowances for stationery and travel be reinstated.³⁵ The last student action against cost-sharing was the march to Parliament on 10 May 1994, and the agitation at Freedom Square the day after.³⁶ This action sealed the fate of 'cost-sharing' and highlighted the political difference between 'cost-sharing' and 'privatisation,' two otherwise complementary strategies for self-financing. Strikes were evidence of a serious crisis in government policy. At least two lessons needed to be drawn. First, there was need to distinguish between different constituencies with different interests and capacities: for example, between the staff whose demand for a 'living wage' reflected a drastic loss of income in just a few years, and students whose opposition to 'cost sharing' reflected a conservative defence of elitist education and historical privilege. Even in this latter category, there was a failure to distinguish between groups of students facing radically different circumstances: for example, the poor and the rich, those from families that lived within close distance to the university and those who came from upcountry homes. The government's failure to distinguish between just and unjust demands created the impression of an unjust and unplanned policy biased against higher education, and generated a resistance that spread through *all* constituencies. The second lesson concerned the method of implementing difficult changes: the political cost of

imposing a solution had to be given serious consideration. To be politically tenable, a solution needed the active support of both those who would be called upon to implement it and those who would bear its direct impact.

Privatisation as an Alternative to Cost-sharing

Having reduced the flow of public resources to higher education in line with World Bank guidelines, the government's response to the spate of strikes was to withdraw from taking an active and direct role in defining the response to the fiscal crisis of higher education. All President Museveni had to say in the press was to repeat *ad infinitum* the World Bank's fast-receding conviction that higher education was not a priority because it was not productive of profits. When the President met the leadership of MUASA for a day-long discussion at the International Conference Centre on 20 April 1991,³⁷ it was more to cool things down than to strategise a way out of the crisis. The President's response to a staff demand for 'a living wage' was to offer the University a stock of cattle and grazing land, presumably to get the staff and students in the Agriculture and related Science Faculties to produce dairy and agricultural products as cheap food to subsidise meagre staff salaries. This mockery put paid to staff hopes that government would provide a way out of a rapidly deteriorating financial predicament.

It was a sign of the times. The more the official view saw higher education as simply a private benefit for a narrow elite rather than also a social and national asset, the more it saw the university crisis through the narrow lenses of an employer-trade union relation. The result was to minimise the public interest in higher education. Ironically, this was happening at a time when the World Bank was beginning to acknowledge—albeit grudgingly—that the rapid march of 'knowledge-driven economies' in East Asia was evidence

that, even from a narrowly economic point of view, higher education was of great public importance. The government response made for a clear distinction between those who defined the parameters of policy-making at Makerere and those who made policy within those parameters—between those who set constraints and those who made choices. As the external forces that defined the context withdrew, they left the responsibility of policy-making to forces internal to Makerere. It was a tragic abdication of responsibility by the government of the day.

The second attempt at reform was born directly out of the failure of the first round. Although both the World Bank and government saw privatisation as complementary to cost-sharing, privatisation in fact developed as an *alternative* to cost-sharing. The difference was that whereas cost-sharing was imposed from above, privatisation was the result of numerous initiatives from below, which were then sanctioned by those in authority. Rather than flowing from a single and coherent blueprint, the privatisation of Makerere was the cumulative result of a series of decisions, each taken piecemeal. Rather than the outcome of a linear process, the reform grew out of a series of 'trial-and-error' decisions. A response to an environment more disabling than enabling, it was the cumulative outcome of a set of disparate and unconnected survival strategies, decisions taken by residents of Makerere whose collective back was increasingly against a common wall. Rather than romanticise the Makerere reform as several have tended to do, we need to understand it as a desperate response by those facing the barrel of the financial gun, so as to distinguish its positive from negative aspects.

To grasp the distinction between the agents of the reform and those who put in place the constraints within which it unfolded, one needs to understand the contrast between the two rounds of reform, even if both were different ways of moving towards introducing a measure of self-financing in higher education.

Cost-sharing and privatisation came to be defined as alternative—rather than complementary—strategies, for one key reason: the very combination of academic staff and students who had blocked the attempt to introduce cost-sharing in the first round of reform rallied behind the privatisation initiative that marked the second round of reform. Not only did they drive the privatisation of the country's leading public university, many also came to defend privatisation as its negative consequences became increasingly obvious and led to a growing opposition, from both inside and outside the University. To set apart the positive aspects of the reform from the negative ones, we will need to distinguish between *privatisation* and *commercialisation*, and link commercialisation to comprehensive, deep-seated and adverse changes in the academic curriculum.

The problem of Makerere was further compounded as key University administrators and many in the academic staff also came to see the future of the University through the narrow prism of a highly individualised cost-benefit analysis. This newly dominant perspective left no room for articulating a public interest in the functioning of a public university. The stage was set for the progressive privatisation of Makerere.

There were two aspects to the discussion on privatisation. The first was a policy aspect which saw privatisation as a necessary response to the financial crisis of the university. Within the academic staff union, MUASA, there were different schools of thought on privatisation as a policy. Whereas a minority came to see privatisation as inevitable in an era of shrinking state resources for elite-based higher education and another minority actively opposed it, the majority was clearly ambivalent. The shift of opinion in MUASA came in the wake of the 1989 strike and the clear indication that the state had no intention of accepting responsibility for addressing the crisis of higher education at Makerere. In this context, the pro-privatisation minority got bolder. At the same time, unable to offer

an alternative, the critics of privatisation were driven into silent acquiescence. The then Dean of the Law Faculty, also the Chair of MUASA during the 1989 strike, later conceded that once the government had reneged on the funding of Makerere, there was no alternative to privatisation.³⁸

Following the turbulent strikes of 1989, MUASA organised a seminar on 'Education for Development in the Context of Ugandan Society Today'. The pro-privatisation view was articulately summed up in a paper presented by Tibarimbasa, who reproduced World Bank calculations indicating that the private rate of return in higher education, unlike in primary education, is always higher than the social rate of return, more so in Africa than in other parts of the world. He cited figures to the effect that whereas the cost of educating a university student in the developed countries was equal to educating three or four primary school pupils, the equivalent cost was ten to fifteen in Asia, and as high as thirty or forty in Africa. The situation in Uganda where it cost 510 shs a year to educate a primary school student and 305,120 shs to educate a university student, he argued, was much worse: you could educate 610 primary students for the cost of educating a university student. Indeed, Makerere was enrolling only 0.6 percent of the whole group of 20–24 year olds in the country. The result was that 'meagre government resources go to a very small percent of the population'. In conclusion, Tibarimbasa cited President Museveni's view that 'people should stop looking at the Treasury for the entire higher education financing'.³⁹ In assuming that the benefit of higher education was largely private because a small minority entered it as direct participants, the paper obscured from discussion the public interest in higher education. Though the World Bank would later step back from this excessively individualistic and short-sighted argument, even disavow it, the turn-around would come too late for

institutions like Makerere who paid the price for having to function for a decade within narrow ideologically-driven constraints.

The second aspect to the discussion on privatisation was more pecuniary. It glimpsed in privatisation the possibility of direct gains for the academic staff, and showed how individual members of staff could come to support and shape privatisation for reasons of personal gain rather than social policy. That privatisation could also turn into a self-serving strategy for promoting narrow staff interests became clear in the discussion on affirmative action for children of academic staff, called 'biological children'.

Affirmative Action for 'Biological Children' of Academic Staff

On the face of it, the case for special treatment for biological children of academic staff was straightforward: this uncontroversial case was for financial assistance for children of staff who *qualified* for entry. As long as there was a uniform set of entry qualifications, adjusted annually to admit the quota of students that government was willing to support financially, the point was irrelevant. But once policy was revised to admit private students with entry points *below* those for government fellowships, the staff demanded financial assistance for those of its 'biological children' who could not meet the entry requirements for government support, but *did* meet the lower entry requirement for private students. This, too, was a relatively uncontroversial proposition. Senate accepted it at a special meeting on 24 August 1992, when it resolved that 'biological children of staff with minimum requirements to enter this university should be given special consideration for admission'.⁴⁰ Council affirmed that the scheme 'was part of an incentive package and its aim was to attract, to motivate and to enhance staff retention and job satisfaction of senior staff as well as rewarding long serving staff not on senior

terms of service'.⁴¹ The scheme was inaugurated by Senate in 1992–1993 with the admission of 45 biological children, and 15 the following year.⁴² Once the principle was accepted, Senate argued with the administration and the Council over the extent of financial subsidies for biological children of staff who qualified for entry. In 1996, the Faculty of Social Sciences demanded free education for all biological children of staff, but the Finance Committee of Council recommended a 50 percent tuition rebate for biological children admitted as private students to day programmes, and a 30 percent rebate for those admitted to evening programmes, with a limit of two beneficiaries for each member of staff.⁴³ Senate agreed that biological children should have a 50 percent rebate.⁴⁴ A related issue concerned the number of biological children entitled to special treatment. Whereas the University was inclined to set the limit at two, the academic staff—as in the case of the Faculty of Technology resolution⁴⁵—wanted the number extended to four.

It was when academic staff started to call for *lower entry requirements* for its children that one began to see the corruption of an entitlement into a privilege, demanded by those who were starting to see the University as a private facility for those working in it. When Senate met with the Minister of Education in November 1992, the Minister expressed surprise that their decision to adopt lower entry requirements for the admission of biological children 'was implemented without informing him, Council, or government'. He 'cautioned that such a move could bring the University and his office into conflict', and that it 'would shatter the general view which was always held that Makerere University was the only institution where merit was always adhered to meticulously'.⁴⁶

But when Senate met the Minister of Education the next year in September 1993, it unabashedly argued that the entry requirement for children of staff be 2.5 points *below* the minimum required of private students, and that their places be protected by reserving

two percent of all places for incoming students in 1993–1994 for biological children of staff.⁴⁷ Let us recall that the demand for a lowering of the entry barrier by a full 2.5 points was much greater than a lowering of the barrier by 1.5 points that Senate and Council had accepted as affirmative action for women applicants to Makerere. The Committee of Deans was informed that the decision ‘had provoked disquiet not only among some members of staff and students of the University but also among the members of the general public’. It is in recognition of this that the Minister had called the meeting of 9 September 1993 where he ‘announced that he had decided to suspend the scheme for the Biological Children of the Staff of Makerere University and that he was going to set up a Committee made up of some members of the N.R.C. (National Research Council) and the University Council and a representative from the Senate to look into the matters connected with the scheme’.⁴⁸

Whereas the effort to reserve places came to naught, Senate further upped the demand for lower standards for the entry of biological children. In December 1996, Council approved a Senate proposal that the minimum requirement for biological children be four points below the admission requirement for any course.⁴⁹ When the issue was tabled before the July 1998 meeting of Senate, the resulting press publicity caused a public uproar. Embarrassed, Senate resolved that a stop be put to discussing preferential treatment for biological children ‘to avoid being misunderstood by members of the general public’.⁵⁰

The controversy about affirmative action for Biological Children of Academic Staff involved two very distinct issues. The first concerned a financial preference, so that biological children of staff who qualify to join the University may do so on a full or partial fellowship. This is widespread practice in many universities the world over and is fully defensible. The second issue concerns an

academic preference whereby biological children of staff may enter the University even if they do not qualify to do so academically. Though championed by the parents of those children and the University Senate and Council, this latter preference is difficult to condone. Indeed, once implemented, it stood as the first example of a corruption that illustrated the ways in which the academic staff might be tempted to treat the University as its private preserve.

A decade later, when the leadership of the University changed hands, the new University Admissions Board acknowledged that 'currently there exist two schemes on admissions of the biological children of staff, namely: (a) Admission of eligible biological children of staff under government sponsorship whose points are less than 4.0 points below the cut-off points for that programme of study', and '(b) A fee rebate for eligible biological children of staff who are admitted on self sponsorship to the University'.⁵¹ Whether on government sponsorship or entitled to a fee rebate, so long as 'biological children' were admitted in spite of not satisfying the general entry requirement, this stood out as testimony to a form of corruption.

Two Phases of Privatisation

When MUASA proposed measures to the University Council in August 1992 to tap alternative funding sources, it pinned the University crisis to two causes: under-funding and a rigid administration which had marginalised staff and students.⁵² By then, there was something approaching a staff consensus on privatisation. At their November 1992 meeting with the Minister of Education, members of Senate advised that 'cost-sharing had to be slowly dealt with ... as evidenced by the disastrous opposition it met with in 1990'. In contrast, they suggested that 'the possibilities and implications of increasing the number of privately-sponsored

students admitted into the University needed to be explored'.⁵³ From the point of view of Makerere staff, privatisation did not carry any of the negative consequences associated with cost-sharing. Privatisation referred to the admission of privately-sponsored fee-paying students over and above the quota of students that came in with full government scholarships. Privatisation would not detract from the 100 percent scholarship status of government-funded students; rather, it would simply open an additional source of funds for the university. The overriding view was both short-term and narrowly financial, that privatisation would lead to a financial gain without any cost.

This point of view found a warm reception at Makerere and within Government, where key constituencies were already convinced that the University was in a position to expand student enrolment. As early as 6 February 1989, the Academic Registrar had issued a circular on the subject to Deans, Directors and Heads of Schools. This is how he put the case: 'You will recall that in 1982 as a result of recommendations of the Task Force, the University was compelled to cut students intake by about 30 percent so that from an enrolment ... of 7,000 we stand today at 5,000'. He then proceeded to show how 'in 1989 the situation appears to have changed somewhat for the better', in terms of 'the rehabilitation of the physical plant', a refurbished library, and even an increase in the number of academic staff: 'The University is still very short of staff but recruitment is gaining momentum and if other measures, such as improvement of living conditions, are in place we should by 1990 have reduced the vacancy levels in many Faculties'. He then proceeded to underline the consequences of a reduced intake: 'The cut-off point in the Arts and Social Sciences in 1982 was around 10 but in 1989 it is around 13 (BCC); that is to say that we are compelled to leave out too many otherwise eligible and excellent candidates'. Thus his conclu-

sion: 'The time would thus appear(s) to be opportune for the University to review the decisions we took in 1982'.⁵⁴

The Committee of Deans, too, 'decided in favour of increasing the number of students'.⁵⁵ Government too had come around to the same view, as the Dean of Law informed his Faculty on 2 May 1990: 'That Government was interested in Makerere admitting more students so as to maximise the utilisation of its facilities', and that, in particular, government had suggested the possibility of introducing evening classes.⁵⁶ When Senate convened a special meeting in August and September 1995 over how to increase staff income, it resolved to follow multiple strategies. In addition to asking the administration to continue to press government for better pay packages, it recommended that departments follow two further avenues to allow members to earn more money: carrying out research and admitting privately sponsored students.⁵⁷ Simply put, privatisation was seen as a cost-free way of increasing staff salaries without resort to government action.

Privatisation was driven by the academic staff (and its organisation, MUASA) and acquiesced to by the student body, the same forces that had actively and successfully opposed cost-sharing. A consequence of that opposition was that MUASA came to supply more and more of the academic leadership in the post-strike University administration: both the new Minister of State for Higher Education and the new Makerere Vice Chancellor had been members of the Executive Committee of MUASA and its 1989 Strike Steering Committee. So had successive Deans at the Faculty of Law, the faculty most ideologically committed to decentralisation, served time as MUASA chairs.

Privatisation at Makerere went through two phases. The first was conventional, and bore little fruit. The second was the more radical phase. In the opening, conventional phase, the University pressed its more professional departments and technical schools to

admit fee-paying private students. It distinguished potentially 'income generating units'—professional Schools and technical Faculties—from 'commercial units' such as the Guest House, the printing press, and the bookshop.⁵⁸ The Finance Committee's original 1992 list of 'income generating units' included a list of service departments (Library, Food Supply Board, Department of Academic Registrar, School of Postgraduate Studies, Halls of Residence), and another of professional and technical Faculties: Commerce, Law, Technology, Science, Veterinary Medicine, Fine Art, and Anatomy.⁵⁹ Its 1993–1994 budget proposals added Technology Consults, the University Hospital and all Building units of the University to the list.⁶⁰ Council had its own roughly similar list of 'fee generating units', which also included the Institute of Adult and Continuing Education and the Sports and Recreation Department.⁶¹ The strategy was to get the 'commercial units' to become profit-making and the professional schools and technical faculties to become fee-earning. Importantly, no academic Faculty—not Arts nor Social Sciences nor Science—was included in either list of 'income generating units'.

In pursuit of this strategy, Council re-organised commercial units along corporate lines to enable management to pursue a profit-maximisation strategy. It was even receptive to investing more money, either to expand existing 'commercial units' such as the feed mill, or to open new ones, such as the hatchery, whose products it hoped to sell in the open market.⁶² At the same time, it looked for appropriate incentives to induce professional Schools and technical Faculties to expand the enrolment of fee-paying students and so become 'income generating units'. The joint strategy, then, was to pursue *profit-maximisation* for commercial units and *income-maximisation* for professional Schools and technical Faculties.

Concerned to give maximum incentive to potentially income-generating units, the University Council decided that only ten percent

of 'money collected by income generating units ... be remitted to the Central pool of the university'.⁶³ That decision was conveyed to the Finance Committee meeting of 18 May 1993. We shall detail the process of financial decentralisation later. Here, it will suffice to mention two aspects: the first was a substantial retention of earnings in local units, and the second was a concession from government—once the second phase of privatisation got into full swing and private revenues expanded substantially—that internally-generated funds not be transferred to the Treasury Consolidated Funds.⁶⁴ From the World Bank's view of higher education, both provisions were key incentives for income generating units—which is an important reason why the 'innovations' proved sustainable in the medium run. As administrative decentralisation followed financial decentralisation, Faculties, and not the Central Administrators, decided on student intake, both government and private-sponsored. Given that they also controlled the use of the bulk of private student fees,⁶⁵ their combined financial and administrative powers gave academic units a substantial autonomy. The structure was in place for a gradual dismantling of the public university and its step-by-step replacement by a privatised university.

The incentives evolved over time, from financial to administrative; together they made for a system of decision-making which was so comprehensively decentralised that no one, either the centre or any of the constitutive units, any longer had a comprehensive idea of the 'reform' in the university. Each Faculty saw the University from only its own vantage point. Eventually, no one really knew what the elephant looked like. Meanwhile, the elephant was being transformed from a public to a private beast.

This transformation awaited the second phase of privatisation. For the moment, the fruit of the reform was hardly impressive—not withstanding the framework of financial and administrative decentralisation. Commercial units were proving more of a liability

than an asset to the University. At the same time, there was no indication of any dramatic increase in the enrolment of fee-paying private students in professional Schools and technical Faculties. The 69th meeting of Council in July 1994, noted that several of the 'revenue earning units' were actually running at a loss.⁶⁶ Table 4 shows the build-up of enrolment of private students in the University, from 164 in 1993–1994 to 1460 in 1995–1996 and 2729 in 1996–1997. The most dramatic increases were not in the professional Schools but in the non-specialised academic Faculties: the Faculty of Social Sciences (from 88 in 1994–1995 to 400 in 1995–1996 and 571 in 1996–1997), followed by the Faculty of Arts (from 12 in 1994–1995 to 229 in 1995–1996 and 277 in 1996–1997). The two Faculties' share of private students in the university had gone up from only 14 percent in 1994–1995 to 43 percent in 1995–1996, in only one year. Their share the following year, 31 percent, showed that this trend was not a one-off affair.

The first phase of privatisation lasted from 1991 to 1995. It focussed on the professional schools (law, commerce, continuing education) and technical Faculties (technology). It unfolded through several innovations that previously had no conceptual place within the framework of a full-time residential university. These innovations led to the introduction of external degrees (IACE: 1991), of evening classes for fee-paying students (1992: Commerce and Law) and the introduction of the first batch of private, day-time students that same year.

The possibility of a privately-funded external degree course in the Centre for Continuing Education was discussed in the Senate meeting of November 1989.⁶⁷ The Senate was informed at its June 1990 meeting that the proposal had been finalised with the participation of a Canadian consultant provided by the Commonwealth,

Table 4: Private Student Intake, by Programme,
1993–1994 to 1996–1997

Programme	1993–1994	1994–1995	1995–1996	1996–1997
MB.CH.B			12	35
B.D.S	2	6	1	1
B.PHARM		1	2	3
BSC. Nursing			1	3
B.V.M			1	4
BSC.AGRIC	1	7	10	14
BSC.(FOR)			3	7
B.F.S.T			10	10
B.ENG (CIV)				38
B.ENG (MEC)				8
B.ENG (ELE)				28
BSC.AGRIC.ENG			2	2
BSC.(ENG)	10	11	29	9
B.ARCH			6	9
BSC.(SURV)				8
B.STAT	6	9	17	30
BA.SWSA	6	8	20	10
B.COM		3	6	10
LLB	61	80	86	150
BA/ED		29	54	142
BSC/ED		2	6	10
B.SC		9	37	40
B.A(A)		12	229	277
B.A(MASS COMM)			51	44
B.A(SS)		88	400	571
B.A(FA)		16	31	50
BLIS		11	15	20
BSC. (QE)				42
BA.EM				16
B.T.M				39
CLIS				22
B.B.A	78	160	160	385
COX		197	197	490
B.ED		74	74	202
Total	164	723	1460	2729

Source: Makerere University Office of the Academic Admission Division.

Professor J. Chick, and that the programme would be launched in the academic year 1990–1991 with an intake of 200 students in B.Ed. and 100 in B.Com.⁶⁸ These recommendations were fully accepted by Council.⁶⁹ But then Council re-thought the issue and decided to postpone the launch ‘until such a time when the financial position of the University would allow it’.⁷⁰ Two problems marred the programme from the outset: a shortage of qualified applicants, and of qualified staff. The sober reality that the October 1991 meeting of Senate discovered was that there were ‘very few qualifying candidates’ among the 826 applications for B. Com. Since only 33 qualified for entry under existing regulations when there were 100 places available, Senate agreed to lower standards to admit an additional 15 and to delay the start of the course until January 1992.⁷¹ The B. Com. Programme did begin in January 1992, but with 94 students. It faced numerous problems, including the scarcity of tutors. Senate thus recommended to Council that there should be no new intake for 1992–1993 and that any further intake be delayed to October 1993.⁷² Council in turn decided in August 1992 ‘that the external Degree Programme intake be postponed and expansion of establishment be deferred until the detailed budget for the proposed expansion was worked out and the establishment growth matched to intake cycles of various programmes’.⁷³

At this stage, the University’s formal academic organs were advising caution for two reasons: there was a shortage of qualified students and of qualified staff. This is when the government stepped in with a directive. The same Emergency Meeting of 9 September 1993, called by the Minister of Education that dealt with the question of affirmative action for Biological Children of Academic Staff, also focussed on the question of admitting privately-sponsored students into the University. As the Committee of Deans was informed the very next day, the Minister had issued five Directives to the University. One of the five Directives was: ‘Admit privately-

sponsored students over and above the capacity of Government sponsored students'.⁷⁴

Evening classes began in two Faculties, Law and Commerce, in 1992–1993. Armed with the experience of the Centre for Continuing Education (CCE), Council was more cautious. It rethought the earlier decision to begin an evening programme in Business Administration in October 1992. Concerned that 'the Faculty was taking on more programmes than it was likely to handle effectively and standards were likely to suffer, causing embarrassment to the University', Council referred the programme back to its Planning and Development Committee,⁷⁵ which deferred the start for a year on grounds that the Faculty was not sufficiently prepared to take on the responsibility.⁷⁶ But it did approve two programmes, provided their cost would be born entirely by the concerned Faculty. The first was the MBA programme, to be started in October 1992, under the Faculty of Commerce which was to pay all direct costs. Similarly, it agreed that the Faculty of Law begin the evening program in Bachelor of Laws, with an intake of 30, on the same conditions.⁷⁷ Slowly but surely, Council was underlining the prerequisite of reform: it had to be cost-free. It was a narrowly financial view, whose academic consequences would prove disastrous.

The entry of full-time private students in day classes proved easier to implement, even in the absence of a clear policy guideline. The difference was that the increase was incremental and involved no more than a marginal expansion of existing class size. At its meeting on 20 August 1992, Council recommended to government that 500 privately-funded students be admitted, and that there should be no cost-sharing measures as regards government-sponsored students.⁷⁸ In practice, admission was restricted to 38 private students and another 46 biological children of staff. The Admissions Board also recommended that up to ten percent of future intake be earmarked for private students.⁷⁹ But Government was reluctant

to accept the pace set by the University. The Finance Committee noted at its October 1993 meeting that the Ministry of Education had rejected the recommendation so long as the government White Paper was not finalised.⁸⁰

But the University Administration was desperate to find ways of increasing income to meet expenses. Even before the White Paper was finalised in October 1993, the Finance Committee resolved 'that all University Departments be requested to undertake certain activities that will bring in Revenue'.⁸¹ Once the White Paper was finalised, the Finance Committee instructed individual Faculties to admit private students and to introduce private (Evening) programmes. For example, in its June 1995 discussion of Faculty budgets, the Finance Committee advised that the Faculty of Technology 'could make more money from private students if it had an evening class programme'.⁸²

In this first phase of privatisation, policy evolved in response to two different preoccupations: the first shared by government, the second by the University Administration. As the University's Planning Officer, Mr Mayanja, recalled years later, government was ready neither to provide funds to the University nor to let the University introduce cost-sharing for fear of student action.⁸³ The University's solution was to steer away from cost-sharing and admit private students, at first for external degrees, then in special evening programmes, and finally in regular day programmes. For its part, the University assumed that private students would be more likely to be attracted to professional Faculties—both science (Medicine, Agriculture, Technology) and non-science (Law, Commerce)—rather than non-professional academic Faculties, whether in the Sciences or the Humanities. The first assumption would hold, but not the second.

The conventional notion of privatisation looked to build on the existing organisation and structure of the University: private students

would be admitted to existing professional Schools and technical Faculties. It was unlikely to affect the core of the University, which was academic, not professional. Notably, the University's list of potential 'income generating units' excluded the academic heart of the University right up to 1994: the Faculty of Arts, that of the Social Sciences, and that of Science. Not until the special meeting of Senate in August 1995, and at the 71st meeting of Council in November and December 1995, were evening classes sanctioned for the non-professional Faculties. The language of approval was then a mere formality but would later be the source of much contention: 'that the Board of the Faculty of Arts be allowed to introduce the evening degree programmes for the award of the Bachelor of Arts Degree of Makerere University *covering all the approved subjects* in the Faculty of Arts subject to the Senate Secretariat and the Staff of the Faculty of Arts scrutinising and refining the documents containing the proposed degree programmes'⁸⁴ (emphasis mine). Once the second phase of privatisation gathered steam, the phrase 'approved subjects' assumed critical importance, since it defined the competence and mandate of each Faculty.

The shift from privatisation to commercialisation can be seen in the radical change in university policy in a single year, from 1996 to 1997. When 'the University Council sanctioned evening courses for all Departments that were ready to mount them',⁸⁵ it also decided to be more pro-active by identifying units that were likely to provide a hospitable environment to private students. That was in 1995. The Higenyi Report went to great lengths to carry out a definitional exercise that distinguished between Faculties and Schools, pointing out that the former were academic but the latter professional.⁸⁶ The implication was that professional Schools rather than academic Faculties will be natural homes for private students and evening programmes. But in only a year, as we shall see, this logic was turned upside down as the Arts Faculty pioneered private programmes;

soon after, the distinction was swept aside as the Arts experience was turned into a model for the entire university. After April 1997, as Council noted, ‘*only* self-financing/demand-driven programmes continue to be approved’ (emphasis mine).⁸⁷ In September 1999, Parliament was told by the Committee on Social Services that ‘programmes and courses have undergone extensive review’ at Makerere and that ‘all Faculties have designed new and marketable courses’.⁸⁸ Four years after the 1997 Council meeting issued its guidelines, Senate resolved that ‘all new academic programmes should be market-driven, relevant and self-sustaining’.⁸⁹ Market-driven presumably means demand-driven, but the meaning of self-sustaining is not as clear: did it mean that each programme would have to cover its own cost? The Academic Registrar recorded the impact of these decisions on the ground: the number of Degree Courses on private sponsorship for full time students rose from 26 in 1996–1997 to 40 in 1999–2000.⁹⁰

The second phase of privatisation targeted the academic core of the University. We shall see how the Senate provision that new programmes cover ‘approved subjects’ was set aside in favour of encouraging Faculty initiative by letting a Faculty house a programme even if it did not have the disciplinary expertise for it. Over time, a combination of privatisation and commercialisation led to the progressive *vocationalisation* of academic Faculties. I use the term *vocationalisation* to refer to a process distinct from professionalisation. Pre-reform Makerere comprised a combination of academic Faculties and professional Schools (with some professions, such as Law and Medicine, also bearing the nomenclature of Faculties). The progressive *vocationalisation* of academic disciplines was justified as introducing inter-disciplinary programmes. But whereas professional Schools used disciplinary departments as building blocks for inter-disciplinary programmes, vocationalisation in the academic departments proceeded with no regard for the

question of disciplinary competence, and housed multi-disciplinary programmes in Departments that could not claim competence over teaching the disciplinary core of these programmes. This is what made vocationalisation truly subversive of the quality of education.

Notes

1. This point was made forcefully by Fred Jjuko, the former Dean of the Faculty of Law and the Chair of Makerere University Academic Staff Association (MUASA) in 1989–1990, as discussant at the Internal Workshop on the Makerere Reform on 19 August 2005 at Senate Building, Makerere University, Kampala.
2. *Minutes of the Meeting of the Finance Committee* Held on Friday, 25 July, 1997 and Friday 1 August 1997 in the Council Room: p.7.
3. The Senate, *Minutes of the Emergency Meeting of the Senate* Held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 23 January 1991: p. 4.
4. The Senate, 89th Meeting, *Minutes of the 89th Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room, on Wednesday, 28 November, Friday, 7 December and Friday, 18 January 1991: p.10.
5. The Senate, *Minutes of the Emergency Meeting of the Senate* Held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 23 January 1991: p. 4.
6. The Senate, *Emergency Meeting, Minutes of the Emergency Meeting of Senate* Held in the Council Room on Tuesday, 14 April 1992: pp. 4-5; also see, *Minutes of the 54th Meeting of the Finance Committee*, held on 5 October 1990 in the Council Room: pp. 1-2.
7. The Senate, Emergency Meeting, *Minutes of the Emergency of Senate* held in the Council Room on Tuesday, 14 April 1992: pp. 4-5.
8. *Minutes of the Second Emergency Meeting of Council* held on 15 April 1992 in the Council Room, Makerere University: p. 4.
9. *Minutes of the 47th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on Tuesday and Wednesday, 7-8 January 1986, in the Council Room: p. 19. At the 55th Meeting of the University Council held on 12th and 18th July, the first meeting following

- the MUASA strike of previous May that was attended by the Minister of Education, the Vice Chancellor made a strong plea 'that Makerere University should be an income-generating organ in addition to being an academic institution'. See: The University Council, *Minutes of the 55th Meeting*, Held, on 12 and 18 July 1989: pp. 5-6.
10. World Bank, *Financing Education in Developing Countries: An Exploration of Policy Options*, 1986; *Education in sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Education, Revitalisation and Expansion*, 1988; *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Development*, 1989; *The African Capacity Building Initiative: Toward improved Policy Analysis and Development Management*, 1991, Washington DC: World Bank.
 11. World Bank, *Education in sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Education, Revitalisation and Expansion*, 1988, pp. 75-80.
 12. World Bank, *Higher Education: Lessons of Experience*, 1994, p. 7; see also, World Bank, 1993, p. 55.
 13. The Republic of Uganda, *Report of the Visitation Committee to Makerere University*, July 1987, pp. 170, 179, 185, 186. In an opening section called 'Background', the Report listed six 'shortcomings' of Makerere as it had evolved historically: '(1) The University has stuck to its original purpose and foundation in that it still passes out people who seek office jobs ... rather than field or practical work. (2) It has up to now passed within its small numbers far more Arts graduates than those in the Science or Technical fields... (3) The University has at worst graduated people who admire the colonial system or at best people who neither understand the impact of colonialism nor see anything wrong with it. The most positive see "the advantages and disadvantages" of colonialism. (4) The University graduates people who are highly individualistic ... (5) The University has graduated, on the whole, people who are not conversant with the real concrete and objective conditions of our country and continent. (6) The resources at Makerere, human resources, buildings, etc., have not been optimally utilised to provide education and training to as many people as possible. In some cases the finances have been mismanaged and even misappropriated' (pp. xvi - xvii).
 14. Kajubi Senteza, *Education for National Integration and Development, Report of the Education Policy Review Commission*, 1989, pp. 19, 78-79, 161, 163-64, 169.
 15. 'We recommend that in future, students' admission should not be pegged to accommodation ... students obtaining minimum qualifications should be encouraged to join the University and other tertiary institutions through self-sponsorship ... We recommend that due to the inadequate use of existing facilities in the evenings, the University should introduce evening classes for paying students.

This would be another way of raising funds for the University, while giving more Ugandans a chance to receive University Education.’ *Makerere University Visitation Committee Report*, December 1990–January 1991, pp. 22–23. Appointed in the aftermath of the 1989–1990 strikes, the Visitation Committee was specifically mandated to submit ‘a report and recommendations as to the short and long-term measures to be taken in order to promote orderly and harmonious relations between the student body and the university Administration’.

16. Government White Paper on Implementation of the Recommendations of the Report of the Education Policy Review Commission, entitled *Education for National Integration and Development*, Kampala, April 1992.
17. Government White Paper on Implementation of the Recommendations of the Report of the Education Policy Review Commission, entitled *Education for National Integration and Development*, Kampala, April 1992: pp. 33, 101, 105.
18. *Minutes of the Second Emergency Meeting of Council* Held on 15 April 1992 in the Council Room, Makerere University: p. 3.
19. Eiseman, T. O. (1993), cited in Q. O. Obong, ‘The Crisis of Neoliberal Educational Reforms in Makerere University, Uganda’, Paper Presented at Makerere University, International Social Sciences Conference, 25–27 October 2000, p. 3.
20. David Court, ‘Financing Higher Education in Africa: Makerere University, The Quiet Revolution’, mimeo, April 1999: p. 8.
21. David Court, ‘Financing Higher Education in Africa’, p. 8.
22. *Minutes of the Inauguration of the New Council and the 80th Meeting of the University Council*, held on 15 February 1999 in Council Room Makerere University: p. 5–6. The 84th meeting of the Council in April 2000 noted that the World Bank had not guaranteed the funds, and so the Finance Committee of Council had decided to pay for the exercise from the recurrent budget. (Makerere University, *Minutes of the 84th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 17 and 18 April, 2000 in the Council Room: p. 10). Mr Dan Mulumba’s role as the World Bank’s man on the spot went as far back as at least June 1997 when the Ministry of Public Service proposed a decentralisation study. Council approved an ‘Outline Restructuring Report for Makerere’ by the Ministry, including the Terms of Reference of a study ‘to identify and recommend services that should be divested through commercialisation or privatisation’. The Ministry agreed to give 100 million shs to fund the study. Two months later (in August), Council minutes note the entry of the World Bank. Eighty million shs were allocated in the University’s recurrent budget ‘to have the World Bank sponsored Consultant undertake the above job’. In another four months (December), the World Bank committed 20 million shs to fund the programme ‘in principle’ and the Ministry commissioned

- the World Bank Restructuring Specialist, Dan Mulumba, to carry out the survey. See, The University Council, *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the University Council*, Held in Council Room on 11 June 1997: pp. 8-9. *Minutes of the 76th Meeting of The University Council*, Held on 11 August, 1997 and on 12 August 1997: p. 13; The University Council, *Minutes of the 77th Meeting of The University Council*, Held in Council Room, on 15 and 16 December 1997: p. 13.
23. David Court, 'Financing Higher Education in Africa', April 1999: pp. 7-8.
 24. Mark Byaruhanga, 'The Paradox of Curriculum Innovation and Implementation in a Liberalized Higher Education System in Uganda: A Challenge to Makerere University', Paper Presented at the 10th General Assembly of CODESRIA, International Conference Centre, Kampala, 8-12 December 2002: p. 1.
 25. Makerere University, Committee of Deans, *Minutes of A Special Meeting of the Committee of Deans*, Held in the Senior Common Room, on Thursday, 17 August 1989: pp.1-2.
 26. The University Council, *Minutes of the 55th Meeting*, Held, on 12 and 18 July 1989: p. 2.
 27. The Committee of Deans, *Minutes of the Special Meeting of The Committee of Deans*, held in the Council Room, on Friday, 13 October 1989: p. 2; The University Council, *Minutes of the Special Meeting of Council*, held on 30 October 1989: pp. 1, 4-5. The Teaching Assistants 'downed their tools' on 4 October, 1989 and the Non-Academic Staff on 16 October, 1989. See, The Committee of Deans, *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Committee of Deans*, held in the Council Room, on Friday, 13 October 1989: p. 2.
 28. The Committee of Deans, *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Committee of Deans*, held in the Council Room, on Friday, 13 October 1989: p. 12.
 29. Committee of Deans, *Minutes of the Emergency Meeting of the Committee of Deans*, held on Monday, 30 December 1990 in the Council Room: p. 2.
 30. The University Council, Special Meeting, *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 21 November 1989 in the Council Room: pp. 4, 7.
 31. *Minutes of the 56th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 6, 7 and 14 December 1989 in the Council Room: pp. 20-21.
 32. *Minutes of the 56th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 6, 7 and 14 December 1989 in the Council Room: p. 9.
 33. The University Council, 57th Meeting, *Minutes of the University Council*, Held on 7 March 1990 in the Council Room.
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35. The Senate, *Minutes of the 89th Meeting of Senate*, Held in the council Room, on Wednesday, 28 November Friday, 7 December 1991, and Friday, 18 January 1992: p.10.
36. The University Council, *Minutes of the 69th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 23 June and 14 July 1994 in the Council Room, Makerere University: p. 6.
37. The University Council, *Minutes of the 61st Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 29 and 31 May 1991 in the Council Room: p. 5.
38. Interview with Fred Jjuko, 12 July 2003.
39. Elijah Dickens Mushemeza, 'The University and the State in Eastern Africa', mimeo, Kampala,: pp. 5,7-8, 10, 17.
40. The Senate, *Minutes of the Special Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 12 August, 1992 and Friday, 28 August, 1992: p. 8.
41. The University Council, *Minutes of the 67th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 5 and 19 August, 1993 in the Council Room: p. 13.
42. The Senate, *Minutes of the 96th Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 24 November 1993: pp. 9, 13.
43. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 91st Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Monday, 29 January 1996 in Lecture Room 2: p. 20; and *Minutes of the 68th Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Wednesday, 31 July 1996 in the Council Room: pp. 31-32.
44. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 92nd Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on 12, 19 and 24 July 1996 in Lecture Room 2: p. 2.
45. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 92nd Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on 12, 19 and 24 July 1996 in Lecture Room 2: p. 2.
46. The Senate, *Minutes of the Meeting with the Honourable Minister of Education and Sport*, Held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 4 November 1992: pp. 7-8.
47. The Senate, *Minutes of the Meeting of the Senate with the Honourable Minister Of Education and Sports and His Delegation*, Held in the Council Room on Thursday, 16 September 1993: pp. 4-7.
48. The Committee of Deans, *Minutes of the Emergency meeting of the Committee of Deans*, Held in the Council Room on Friday, 10 September 1993: p. 3.
49. The University Council, *Minutes of the 74th Meeting of the University Council*, Held in the Council Room, on 16 and 17 December 1996: p. 34.

50. The Senate, 109th Meeting, *Minutes of the 109th Meeting of Senate*, Held at Makerere University Business School, Nakawa on Wednesday 22 July 1998, pp. 8-9.
51. Senate Committees, *Minutes of the 62nd Meeting of the University Admissions Board*, Held on Wednesday, 27 April and 27 May 2005, respectively in the Conference Hall, Senate Building, p. 3.
52. The University Council, *Minutes of the 3rd Special Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 20 August 1992.
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55. So the Dean of Law informed his Faculty Board on 20 June 1990. See, *Minutes of the 103rd Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on 20 June 1990 in LL.B II Lecture Room: p. 2.
56. Faculty of Law, *Minutes of the 102nd Meeting*, Held on 2 May 1990, in LL.B II Lecture Room, pp. 2-3.
57. The Senate, *Minutes of the Special Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 16 August, Friday, 18 August, Thursday, 24 August and Friday, 1 September 1995, p. 35.
58. On commercial units, see *Minutes of the Second Emergency Meeting of Council*, Held on 15h April 1992 in the Council Room, Makerere University, p. 2
59. *Minutes of the Finance Committee*, Held on 18 May 1993 in the Council Room, pp. 7-8: 'That the income generating units are quite different from commercial units'.
60. *Minutes of the 62nd Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on 14 December 1993 in the Council Room, pp. 5-6.
61. The University Council, *Minutes of the 67th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 5 and 19 August 1993 in the Council Room, p. 47.
62. The University Council, *Minutes of 66th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 20 April 1993 in the Council Room, Makerere University, pp. 13-14.
63. *Minutes of the Finance Committee*, Held on 18 May 1993 in the Council Room: p. 8.
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65. M. K. Mayanja, 'Makerere University and the Private Students Scheme', mimeo, 2001, p. 2; Tibarimbasa, 'Devolution at What Level? How Can the Centre Remain

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68. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council on Thursday, 14 June 1990, pp. 10-11.
69. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of Senate*, Held on Wednesday, 29 August, 1990 and 4 September 1990 in the Council Room, p. 4.
70. *Minutes of the 89th Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room, on Wednesday, 28 November, Friday, 7 December and Friday, 18 January 1991-1992, p. 16.
71. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room on Thursday, 17 October and Thursday, 24 October 1991, pp. 21-22.
72. *Minutes of the 92nd Meeting of the Senate*, Held in Council Room on Wednesday, 13 May 1992, Tuesday, 26 May, 1992, Friday, 12 June 1992 and Tuesday, 21 July 1992, p. 30.
73. *Minutes of the 92nd Meeting of the Senate*, Held in Council Room on Wednesday, 13 May, 1992, Tuesday, 26 May 1992, Friday, 12 June 1992 and Tuesday, 21 July 1992, p. 30.
74. *Minutes of the Emergency Meeting of the Committee of Deans*, Held in the Council Room on Friday, 10 September 1993: p. 2.
75. *Minutes of the 3rd Special Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 20 August 1992 in the Council Room, Makerere University: p. 20.
76. The Senate 90th Meeting, *Minutes of the Senate*, Held in the Council Room on Thursday, 6 June 1991 and Wednesday, 19 June 1991, p. 32; also see July 1992 meeting minutes.
77. *Minutes of the 3rd Special Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 20 August 1992 in the Council Room, Makerere University: p. 22; for an acknowledgement of the first intake of the BBA evening programme in 1993–1994, see Makerere University, The Committee of Deans, Special Meeting, *Minutes of the Committee of Deans*, Held in the Council Room, on Tuesday, 30 November, 1993:5.
78. *Minutes of the 3rd Special Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 20 August 1992 in the Council Room, Makerere University, p. 17.

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80. *Minutes of the 61st Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Tuesday, 12 October, 1993, in the Faculty of Science, p. 6-7.
81. *Minutes of the 61st Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Tuesday, 12 October 1993, in the Faculty of Science, p. 8.
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Chapter Two

WINNERS AND LOSERS

“Poaching” a course is good competition and positive interdisciplinaryity.’—Faculty of Arts, Strategic Management Workshop, June 1996.

In the early 1990s, the Faculty of Arts represented the epicentre of the crisis in the University. Student applications to the Faculty were declining. The Vice Chancellor, Professor Sebuwufu, said that the number of applicants citing Arts as their choice dropped to 63 in a year.¹ The then Dean of the Faculty recalled the lowest point when only four students came directly to the Faculty.² Dr Sengendo, then the Head of Geography (and the Dean in 2003) recalled that ‘there was talk in the corridors of closing down the Faculty, there was apathy and demoralisation of staff’, and many staff had taken to teaching in secondary schools to supplement their income.³ There was little prospect of help from outside. The NRM (National Resistance Movement) that came to power in 1986 was inspired by a strong developmentalist ethos and considered the Humanities of marginal significance at best and an inexcusable luxury at worst. Nor was any foreign donor interested in funding the Faculty of Arts.

The Vice Chancellor and the Dean were proud that they had managed to turn around this bleak picture. In another decade, the Faculty of Arts had become the hub of the reformed university: from admitting only 364 students in 1992–1993, it was admitting 2550 a decade later, in 2000–2002, 80 percent more than any other Faculty (see Table 5); it had roughly twice the earning of any residential Faculty⁴ and was home to over 20,000 students in 2002–2003.⁵ Reflecting the predominantly non-residential character of the newly expanded University, three-quarters of the students registered in the Faculty were non-resident.⁶

More than any other Faculty, it was Arts that provided the intellectual and managerial energy responsible for radically transforming the curriculum. This drive joined the twin forces of privatisation and commercialisation. Arts was fully aware that simple privatisation—opening the doors of the university to private fee-paying students—would not solve its problems; it might actually exacerbate them. Indeed, as Dr Beyaraza, a lead reformer in the Faculty in the mid-1990s, recalled at a workshop called to discuss the manuscript form of this book: ‘The issue was what one would do after getting a degree in Geography, History, Languages, Literature, MDD [Music, Dance and Drama], Philosophy, Religious Studies, among other areas of the Arts Faculty’.⁷ The simple fact was that these subjects—known as BA Flat—had a contemplative, reflective and laid-back feel to them. They represented the elitist core of a university curriculum of colonial vintage. The reformers were determined to transform it. Their rallying cry was simple: relevance. And their notion of relevance was wholly market-oriented: only those skills were relevant for which there was a demand in the market place; thus, change the curriculum to teach students skills that would get them jobs. To identify these skills, pay attention to student demand by moving away from courses with low student

attendance and investing in courses that will draw larger student enrolment. The reformers called this 'professionalisation'.

Freshly returned with a PhD from Germany, Dr E. Beyaraza understood that the Faculty of Arts was severely handicapped when it came to competing in the market place. He later recalled: 'It is possible to commercialise education whereby powerful industries infiltrate universities and sponsor courses therein, tailored to those industries' needs. In this case, Arts subjects are hardly as [good] candidates as sciences, technology, among others. What is important to note, however, is that in Uganda, such industries and their possible commercialisation of education are absent'.⁸ The reformers had a bold and most unorthodox answer to this dilemma: simply take any Arts subject, join it with a skill in demand and teach the combination as a single course, for example, Religious Studies and Conflict Resolution, Geography and Tourism, Linguistics and Secretarial Studies, History and Development, Philosophy and Public Management. This joining they called 'inter-disciplinarity'. As it unfolded under the banner of 'professionalisation', the reform agenda marched forward under two flags, 'relevance' and 'inter-disciplinarity'.

The strength of the reform process, what made it an early and spectacular success, was its critique of elitism and call for relevance. Literature, said Dr Sengendo, 'used to do too much of European poetry.'⁹ Its weakness stemmed from a narrowly market-oriented and commercialised notion of relevance—as we shall see, its consequences would mire the process in deep crisis in another decade. For the fact was that 'inter-disciplinarity' turned from a radical call to re-think inherited disciplinary boundaries to a license to flout all disciplinary boundaries and, with it, to disregard all notions of quality and standards embedded in the disciplinary history of knowledge production. It is not just that reformers had no satisfactory answers to questions like: who should teach what? One

is also struck by the fact that they did not even raise these questions as worthy of consideration. For the moment, any change that worked (i.e., brought in fee-paying students) would do, no matter the consequences in the medium run.

The irony, of course, is that the reform programme, called ‘professionalisation’, did not unfold in the professional Schools but in the academic Faculties. Without regard to disciplinary safeguards, it soon turned into a programme for crass vocationalisation, as we shall see. For this, the responsibility lay not with the reformers—lecturers on the ground left to survive on their own wits—but the leadership of the University and the country whose responsibility it was to combine safeguarding quality with encouraging innovations that would ensure the relevance of the University to society. This leadership included the Senate, the Vice Chancellor, the Council, and the Ministry, among others.

In this chapter, I will narrate how the process of vocationalisation unfolded in the Faculty of Arts, and proliferated to a number of other Faculties. I have identified the examples that will best illustrate winners and losers in the reform. I divide both into two sub-categories. The winners include the pace-setters (Arts) and competitors (Social Sciences) who failed to produce a counter-model. The losers, too, were divided between those who responded by joining the race (Education and IACE¹⁰) and those who continued to resist key elements in the reform process (Science). I begin with the pace setters, then the losers who joined the race, followed by the competitors and, finally, by those who resisted key elements of the reform.

Table 5: Registered Student Admission by Faculty,
1992–1993 to 2003–2004

Faculty/ Institute/ School	1992/ 1993	1993/ 1994	1994/ 1995	1995/ 1996	1996/ 1997	1997/ 1998	1998/ 1999	1999/ 2000	2000/ 2001	2001/ 2002	2002/ 2003	2003/ 2004
Agriculture	160	152	156	168	185	190	195	144	155	225	181	221
Arts	364	412	379	720	565	776	1568	1699	1930	2550	2504	1907
ESUS	54	54	44	49	79	69	115	149	120	152	134	314
Education	259	300	338	259	627	459	892	1105	717	1424	1057	1486
Forestry		555						41	41	64	77	77
IACE	127	251	282	297	705	984	1214	2299	2312	140*	1644	1401
IASE	65	78	68	80	159	173	169	191	165	298	335	378
Law	86	123	68	159	278	213	345	420	366	352	386	392
Medicine	117	129	109	131	167	154	155	177	146	178	160	168
Faculty of Comput'g and Tech											92	147
MISIFA	36	46	53	67	92	77	68	91	71	196	176	207
MUBS	108	174	275	265		399	743	702	899	1287	1762	2007
MUIE							10	39	303	200	177	221
MUIPH									4	49	21	11
MUIPSY									18	119	156	137
Science	288	324	284	348	319	326	222	231	307	362	256	262
Social Science	421	427	483	793	924	930	892	1089	1075	1452	1102	1070
Tech'logy	78	96	100	114	256	183	216	255	220	258	192	196
Vet'ary Medicine	37	43	42	43	45	50	71	121	101	75	142	64
Total	2186	2583	2670	3467	4250	4983	6875	8753	8950	9241	0554	10666

*This Figure does not include Students on the Two External Programmes.

Source: Office of the Academic Registrar Admission Section, Makerere University.

Private Students in Faculty of Arts

Prior to 1990, the innovation of new courses and programmes in the University curriculum came mainly from the science-based Faculties and mostly at the postgraduate level.¹¹ The trend began shifting when the Faculty of Social Sciences introduced three postgraduate diplomas in 1991–1992.¹²

The exception to postgraduate programmes as the centre of innovation before 1990 was the B.A. in Mass Communication, introduced in 1988, and housed in the Department of Literature in the Faculty of Arts.¹³ It was so successful that Council approved a doubling of its establishment from six to twelve full-time academic staff in 1991.¹⁴ Not surprisingly, when private evening programmes began in the Faculty of Arts in the 1996–1997 academic year, they started ‘with about 60 students doing Mass Communication and another 60 or so doing B.A. (Arts)’.¹⁵ Mass Communication became a full Department with effect from 1998–1999.¹⁶ It was also the first Department in the Faculty of Arts to be based on an inter-disciplinary pursuit rather than a core disciplinary competence. But Mass Communication was still a professional programme based on ‘service’ courses in the older mode. This is why it was not Mass Communication but Geography that was the true harbinger of the Faculty’s transformation from a centre for the teaching of humanities to a vocational school.

Let us return to the early 1990s, when the number of applicants to the University who identified the Faculty as their first preference was rapidly declining. There was talk in the corridors, and even at the Faculty Board, of whether a time might soon come when the Faculty would be asked to shut down. The Faculty Board of 21 October 1994 formed a committee, chaired by Dr Eustace Rutiba,

‘to improve on [the Faculty’s] image so that the public would become more aware of it and [the Faculty] attract more students’.¹⁷

To be sure, the Faculty had opened its doors to private fee-paying students, but the result was not heart-warming. The Board Minutes record ‘about 25’ private students before 1995.¹⁸ The Board projected a total of 90 private students—70 (in Arts) plus 20 (Arts offering social science subjects)¹⁹—to be admitted to evening classes in 1995–1996. The Faculty Board of 19 July 1995 discussed the course of action the Faculty might take in the face of continuing adversity. Abbasi Kiyimba, the Chair of the committee on evening classes, reported on the meeting he had held with the Deans and Heads of Departments of Social Sciences and Education. He said that the Faculty of Social Sciences had resolved to pursue a discipline-based strategy and thus ‘to teach their students purely Social Science subjects’. Education, in contrast, ‘intended to teach their students all subjects’ and would thus hire lecturers from other Faculties, including Arts, to teach in Education. The discussion focussed on the strategy that Arts should follow. At its conclusion, the Faculty Board resolved ‘to set up a Committee to study the possibility of introducing professional courses in the Faculty so that the courses in the Faculty would become more competitive’, and asked the Departments ‘to meet and put in place such a committee and formulate its terms of reference’.²⁰ The new Ad Hoc Committee, called the Professional Course Committee, was led by Dr E. Beyaraza. As its Secretary and Acting Chair (since the Chair was on leave), Dr Beyaraza became the driving force of the Committee, which included a representative from each of the seven departments within the Faculty. In November 1995, Dr Beyaraza reported to the Board that the Committee was already up and running and would report by the end of the year.²¹

If Dr Beyaraza provided the vision for the reform—market-oriented relevance—the Dean drove it home with the shrewd

calculation of a local politician. For example, when the Faculty targeted 250 students for evening classes in 1996–1997,²² but was able to attract no more than 100, the Dean still reported to Senate an enrolment of 200; as he told the Faculty nonchalantly, he had arrived at the overstatement ‘after further foresight with the view of enabling the Faculty to get some revenue even when the evening class students do not turn up in a reasonably good number’.²³

The full report of the Committee (by now renamed the Professionalisation Committee) was presented to the 11 June 1996 meeting of the Faculty Board. It mapped an ambitious vision which called for a ‘reformulation of the courses’ that ‘should entail all the programmes, that is, Ph.D., first degrees and diplomas’. It noted that ‘to do this efficiently all the Departments had to be involved’. It recognised that to change its course and programme offerings would in effect change the very nature of the Faculty, but it proposed ‘that the Faculty would not be renamed but its courses enriched to make it more famous’.²⁴

The Professionalisation Committee also recommended that the Faculty hold a Strategic Planning Workshop to map out a step-by-step strategy, which was indeed worked out at a three day workshop held in Mukono from 28 to 30 June 1996. The purpose of the workshop was clarified on the opening day: ‘to help the Departments to design corporate and strategic plans reflecting future work projections in view of modernising and professionalizing the Faculty courses’. The Department of History observed that ‘the widespread obsession with the science based and practical disciplines is a threat to their very existence’. The Department of Geography took the lead in proposing new courses: starting with a Diploma in Meteorology in 1996–1997, it proposed to introduce both undergraduate and post-graduate programmes in Tourism and Environmental Education and Management, and a general course in Managerial Sciences. The Institute of Languages followed with

an ambitious set of 'proposed courses', ranging from Communication Skills and Social Anthropology to Secretarial Studies and Information Science. The Department of Philosophy noted its 'failure to retain most of the 1st year students' and spelt out a strategy for 'professionalisation' as a solution: 'by creating courses and applying them to Philosophy with a view to making Philosophy more marketable, e.g., environmental ethics, business ethics, medical ethics, etc'.

With such sweeping changes in what the Departments intended to teach, it was inevitable that there would be renewed suggestions that the name of the Faculty be changed: 'In the end members accepted the need for changing the name of the Faculty and for professionalizing the courses: marketability'. Interestingly, most suggestions wanted to incorporate the claim 'Science' as part of the new name of the Faculty: Faculty of Human and Societal Sciences; Faculty of Human, Societal and Communication Sciences; Faculty of Human Development and Communication Sciences; Faculty of Human, Cultural and Communication Sciences; Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences; or, simply, Faculty of Human Sciences.²⁵ In the end, the Dean prevailed. There was no change of name, one suspects for reasons more pragmatic than principled: a changed name would signal a changed mission and that would invite a wider discussion on the place of the Faculty in the University.

Even at this early stage of brain-storming, two different kinds of misgivings surfaced. The first was a realisation that 'professionalisation' and inter-disciplinarity might lead to a total disregard for the core mission of a Department or Institute. Thus, the workshop observed that 'professionalisation' in the Institute of Languages 'seems to have left the African languages in the lurch, especially Kiswahili and seems to have no plans for their development'. Second, there was also a nagging feeling that the new entrepreneurial ethos in the Faculty might lead to a turf war

since new ‘inter-disciplinary programmes’ were bound to encroach on the disciplinary expertise of existing Departments. For example, the Department of Literature and Mass Communication wanted to teach the new lucrative course in Computer Science, just as did the Institute of Languages, and another in Managerial Sciences, just as did Geography.

The simple fact was that ‘innovation’ in the Faculty had started with poaching between Departments. As the Workshop Report noted, ‘some members observed that some courses have been “poached” from some Departments—a good example is of a course from MDD to Literature’, but then dismissed it in the very next sentence: ‘It was, however, noted that “poaching” a course is good competition and positive inter-disciplinarity’. Instead, MDD was asked to stop complaining and to ‘revisit the syllabus for purposes of updating, enriching and diversifying it so as to professionalise it’, to have ‘a Departmental follow-up seminar for strategic planning and management for further reflection and development of what they had acquired at the seminar’, and to ‘prepare and present a new course syllabus by mid-September 1996’. The meeting chided those who ‘worry’ about ‘poaching’ as ‘rather selfish’ detractors and suggested that ‘in case of duplication, the concerned Departments should meet and synchronise their courses’. The more the reform process moved ahead, the more the entrepreneurial disregard of boundaries gave rise to disciplinary concerns.²⁶

I describe the lower-level training that showed considerable disregard for disciplinary expertise as vocational, rather than professional, and the strategy of twinning Humanities subjects with vocational training as one of *vocationalisation*. In contrast, it is professional Schools like Medicine, and professional Faculties like Technology, Agriculture and Law, that stood for high-level training based on disciplinary expertise—a process that rightly goes by the name of *professionalisation*. The sad fact is that market-oriented

reform in the Arts Faculty produced vocationalisation, not professionalisation.

When the workshop closed, participants agreed that it had indeed been ‘an eye-opener to all of them’ and that they had benefited most by ‘having a clear idea and charting a clear path for the revision and professionalisation of the Arts courses’. The deadline was set at 13 July 1996 for each Department to submit courses. Finally, the Dean ‘appealed to all colleagues to “lobby” so that our programmes (did) not face difficulties’. His advice to the 39 members of the Faculty who had attended the workshop by invitation was crystal clear: ‘We had made innovations, but we had to be discreet and let things come out when they had to, because we are living in a competitive environment!’²⁷

But opposition continued. It came from powerful individuals, such as heads of Departments like Religious Studies and Philosophy,²⁸ and from an entire Department, such as MDD, the first internal victim of poached courses. When the Dean of Arts came to report to the Finance Committee on 31 July 1996, he promised ‘that within 2–3 years courses would be reorganised with a view to make them more professional and attractive’, but he also complained that not everybody in the Faculty was in line with this new strategy and called on the University authorities to back up his call for discipline in the ranks: ‘that the members of staff at MDD should not be individualistic at the expense of the University’.²⁹ In the years to come, the Dean remained true to his word.

The Faculty organised as would a political party, using a combination of the carrot and the stick to maintain discipline within its ranks as well as to ward off any threat from competing Faculties. The Dean presented a set of vocational programmes to the Faculty Board of 6 May 1997, and told them that they ‘would be put before the Senate the following day for approval’. He recognised that the Faculty did not have the resources to mount them but said that

‘those who were arguing that the Faculty of Arts was taking on too much were misreading the situation’, for ‘what was important was not so much to start the proposed courses as to have them approved so that the Faculty could mount them when it is ready to do so’. The Board then resolved ‘that all members of staff ... where possible should sensitise members of Senate to ensure that Senate approved the programmes’.³⁰ It recognised ‘that in order to cope with the new courses next academic year the Faculty will need more staff and should press the Main Building for this’, but agreed to say nothing about this on the technical ground that ‘it was important for the Faculty not to appear to be desperate for more staff at a time when it wanted to have more courses approved by Council as this would undermine its quest for these courses’. So the Faculty Board resolved ‘that a request to the Main Building for more staff be put on hold until after the proposed courses had been approved by Council’. The result was a double strategy: while the Heads of Departments were asked ‘to work out the extra staff needs’, it was agreed that the Faculty should not breathe a word to Senate about not having the academic staff to teach its new professional programmes.³¹ Several years later, in July 1999, the Dean would boast to the Faculty Board about his moment of triumph, ‘the time he had pushed through the Senate 11 programmes at a go’.³²

The Dean’s moment of triumph came in 1996–1997. In December 1996, Senate recommended the introduction of two new programmes in the Faculty of Arts—B.A. in Environmental Management and B.A. in Tourism—to Council.³³ That same month, Council resolved that these programmes ‘be offered both as regular Day and Part-time Evening programmes with effect from January, 1997’.³⁴ The bonanza came during the 106th meeting of Senate held over three days in May 1997, when Senate met and recommended 11 new programmes in the Faculty of Arts and Council held a Special Meeting, 11 June 1997, to pass them all,

wholesale. The package that the Senate received from the Faculty of Arts, passed, and recommended to Council consisted of Subjects (Lwo, Organisational Studies, Secretarial Studies, Communication Skills, Social Anthropology, Mass Communication, Tourism, Environmental Management), and Programmes (Development Studies, Urban Planning, a Diploma in Translation and Interpretation Studies) to be introduced in the Day/Evening curriculum with effect from October 1997.³⁵ In addition, it dealt a final blow to the last significant internal opposition in the Faculty of Arts. The Senate recommendation to Council that Music, Dance and Drama 'be taught as separate subjects', thus leading to the establishment of 'separate Day/Evening Degree Programmes of Bachelor of Arts in Music, Bachelor of Arts in Dance and Bachelor of Arts in Drama in the Faculty of Arts', signalled an end to unified opposition from MDD.

The Senate meetings of May 1997 are also of larger interest. It is the one time that Senate recorded a change in the mission of the Faculty of Arts—from the teaching of Humanities to a vocational mission—but without subjecting it to a critical discussion. Significantly, there was no discussion in Senate of the kind of vocationalisation proposed by the Faculty of Arts, particularly of how the call for 'inter-disciplinarity' would relate to the existing disciplinary structure of the University and its academic Departments. For the fact was that 'inter-disciplinarity' as championed by the Faculty of Arts, and enthusiastically supported by the Vice Chancellor, sought to go beyond disciplinary boundaries not by building relations between them but by ignoring these boundaries. This is why it is not surprising that Senate minutes made no distinction between professionalisation and vocationalisation. Senate minutes in fact began with a pro forma statement of the mission of the Faculty of Arts. The mission statement put the old and the new in a single formulation, but

without even the hint of a contradiction. It summed up the Mission of the Faculty as: 'Promotion of quality education in the Humanities for the changing world in order to train high level human resources for the growth of the nation as well as enhancing the individual's professional studies for the job market'. The statement was then elaborated in the form of three objectives:³⁶

- (a) To improve the curriculum of the Bachelor of Arts in Arts Degree by professionalising and increasing the number of courses which are relevant to the country's contemporary needs.
- (b) To cater for the employers' needs as well as the aspirations of the candidates.
- (c) To widen the opportunities for postgraduate studies while at the same time equipping students with better skills for the job market.

Whereas the revised mission statement straddled two potentially conflicting objectives—an education in the Humanities and a vocational education—the objectives that followed unambiguously spelt out a change in mission, from a Humanities education to a vocational education. Senate minutes record no discussion acknowledging the gravity of the moment, that this was indeed a turning point in the history of both the Faculty and the University. When the recommendations came to Council, they were approved in a single day.³⁷ In a meeting that lasted from 9.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.—eight hours with breaks for lunch and tea—Council approved nothing less than a manifesto which would lead to a total transformation, first of the Faculty of Arts, and then of the academic core of the University. It was a historic meeting but, once again, the records do not suggest the slightest consciousness that history was indeed in the making.

The eleven programmes passed at the 106th meeting of Senate³⁸ were introduced over the next few years, starting with two in 1996—

1997 (Environment Management, Tourism Management), one programme (Urban Planning) and ten Subjects (Organisational Studies, Communication Skills, Mass Communication, Lwo, Social Anthropology, Music, Drama and Dance, Tourism, Environment and Secretarial Studies) in 1997–1998, and two Programmes (Secretarial Studies and Development Studies) in 1998–1999. At the same time, the Faculty Board resolved to begin work on another set of innovations: upgrading Secretarial Studies to a full-scale degree programme and introducing new courses at both the undergraduate level (Archaeology) and for the M.A. programme (Development Studies, Human Rights, Ethics and Human Management).³⁹ In 1998, the Board passed two resolutions that would further expand its reach: to ‘further exploit its potential by starting a B.A. (Arts) Degree course by distance education’, and to market its courses better by mobilising funds ‘so that selected members of staff go to schools with a view to increasing their awareness of the new courses in the Faculty of Arts’.⁴⁰

The results of the turn to a vocational education were not long in coming, and they were dramatic, as is clear from Table 6. In contrast to 12 private students in 1994–1995, 280 in 1995–1996 and 448 in 1996–1997, there was an upsurge of applicants over the following years. The increase came from the entry of private students in both day and evening programmes, and particularly from the new private programmes: Bachelor of Tourism, Bachelor of Environmental Management, and a post-graduate Diploma in Translation and Interpretation.⁴¹ The Faculty Board expressed concern that, except for Tourism, most of the new professional programmes ‘were not financially viable and this was basically caused by the Academic Registrar’s Department which set the limit on the number of students to be admitted to these courses’.⁴² The Faculty pushed for the limit to be lifted. And indeed it was. There was a further upsurge of private students in 1998–1999: 551 in the day

and 695 in the evening programme, recording a grand total of 1,246 for the entire year.

Table 6: Private Student Intake by Programme, Faculty of Arts, 1993–1994 to 2003–2004

Course	1993/ 1994	1994/ 1995	1995/ 1996	1996/ 1997	1997/ 1998	1998/ 1999	1999/ 2000	2000/ 2001	2001/ 2002	2002/ 2003	2003/ 2004
B.MASS. COMM			51	44	39	69	142	120	116	69	58
BA.ARTs	33	12	229	349	344	402	141	338	399	601	635
B.T.M				39		175	291	236	277	269	177
BA.(EM)				16		189	227	271	166	367	201
B.DEVS						170	271	348	244	315	238
B.SS						58	57	70	18	273	101
B.URP						169	234	163	117	138	81
B.MUS						13	4		99	4	2
B.DRAMA							6	7	16	10	26
B.DANCE											
MDD		37				1	1	6			4
Grand Total	33	49	280	448	383	1246	1374	1559	1452	2046	1523

Source: Makerere University Office of the Academic Registrar, Admission Division.

Key:

B.MASS	Bachelor of Mass Communication
BA.ARTs	Bachelor of Arts
B.T.M	Bachelor of Tourism Management
BA.EM	Bachelor of Environmental Management
B.DEVS	Bachelor of Development Studies
B.URP	Bachelor of Urban Planning
MUS	Bachelor of Arts in Music
B.DRAMA	Bachelor of Arts in Drama
MDD	Diploma in Music Dance and Drama
BA.D	Bachelor of Arts in Dance

The lifting of the limit in 1997–1998 had huge significance. It meant the Academic Registrar was relinquishing responsibility over the quality control of programmes in Departments. Hitherto, the setting of the limit had reflected the Academic Registrar's judgment of the maximum number of students that could be taught given the available teaching resources (instructors, class room space).

The Faculty noted that it had arrived at a turning point: 'about one-quarter of all private students admitted to the university this academic year were in the Faculty of Arts'.⁴³ By 2000, Bachelor of Arts in Tourism had become the Faculty's largest draw card.⁴⁴ As the University Admissions Board noted of application for 1999–2000, even if the Bachelor of Tourism Degree Programme had very few government sponsored places (10), it 'had very many 1st choice applicants (955)'.⁴⁵ Seven of the Arts Programmes and Subjects—Tourism, Urban Planning, Environment Management, Development Studies, Secretarial Studies, Communication Skills, Organisational Studies—were now so large that they had to be assigned Assistant Programme Coordinators.⁴⁶ Significantly, the appointment of Programme Coordinators or their assistants, or any of the part-time lecturers, was made by the Appointments Board or delegated by it to another body. In this case, the Appointments Board had delegated the powers to the Vice Chancellor, who had in turn delegated it to whoever was running the Programme, so that the real effect was that the appointment process simply bypassed the University's official structures. Neither their terms nor their qualifications were subject to quality control, either by the Appointments Board at the outset, or by the Academic Registrar during their tenure. The growth of enrolment in Programmes can be seen from Table 7.

**Table 7: Student Admission by Programme and Sponsorship,
Faculty of Arts, 1992–1993 to 2003–2004**

Course	1993/ 1994	1994/ 1995	1995/ 1996	1996/ 1997	1997/ 1998	1998/ 1999	1999/ 2000	2000/ 2001	2001/ 2002	2002/ 2003	2003/ 2004
B.MASS			51	44	39	69	142	120	116	69	58
COMM	33	12	229	349	344	402	141	338	399	601	635
BA.ART				39		175	291	236	277	269	177
B.T.M				16		189	227	271	166	367	201
BA.(EM)						170	271	348	244	315	238
B.DEVS						58	57	70	18	273	101
B.SS						169	234	163	117	138	81
B.URP						13	4		99	4	2
B.MUS							6	7	16	10	26
B.DRAMA											
BDANCE											
MDD		37				1	1	6			4
Grand total	33	49	280	448	383	1246	1374	1559	1452	2046	1523

Source: Makerere University Office of the Academic Registrar, Admission Division

Key:

B.MAS	Bachelor of Mass Communication
ARTS	Bachelor of Arts
B.T.M	Bachelor of Tourism Management
BA. EM	Bachelor of Environmental Management
B.DEVS	Bachelor of Development Studies
B.URP	Bachelor of Urban Planning
MUS	Bachelor of Arts in Music
B.DRAMA	Bachelor of Arts in Drama
MDD	Diploma in Music Dance and Drama
BA.D	Bachelor of Arts in Dance

It is instructive to reflect on the change in policy either initiated or sanctioned by the top administration in the first few years of the reform. When the University first introduced evening classes, the assumption was that it would expand access without the threat of

lowering standards, for the simple reason that the University was every year turning down so many secondary school graduates with minimum entry requirements that it did not need to lower entry requirements to admit more.⁴⁷ The Academic Registrar at that time, Dr Hyuha Mukawanason, insisted on the same examinations for a course, whether it was taught in the Day or the Evening session.⁴⁸ But the Academic Registrar's tenure was cut short due to a scandal. There followed a lax attitude that amounted to more or less a reversal of policy. It was a result of three key decisions taken over the first few years of the reform: a lowering of entry requirements for the evening school, a lifting of limits on enrolment and thus on the number of students in each course, and, finally, leaving each unit to decide both what to teach and who would teach it. Together, these decisions opened the floodgates to private students, particularly in the Faculty of Arts.

On a roll, the Faculty of Arts was determined to push its advantage, and to carry on devising new programmes, whether or not these reflected its disciplinary competence. When the Vice Chancellor visited the Faculty Board on 4 December 2000, included in his briefing was a list of seven new programmes considered at a recent Faculty Evaluation Workshop at Hotel Triangle in Jinja. The programmes were to be housed in three different Departments: the newly formed Department of Mass Communication (B.A. in Public Relations, and a post-graduate Diploma in Mass Communication and another in Health Communication), the Department of Languages (Bachelor of Communication Skills, B.A. in Social Anthropology and Community Transformation, and a University-Wide Communication Skills Course), and the Department of Religious Studies (M.A. in Peace and Conflict Resolution).⁴⁹ The following year, the Institute of Languages proposed to the Faculty Board a programme in B.A. (Communication Skills and Information Management).⁵⁰ The Faculty Board of 9 August 2000 was told

that it could benefit from donor funds—in this case, a \$13 million grant from NORAD—by housing a full Department of Meteorology. Accordingly, a committee ‘was constituted and commissioned to formulate modalities of establishing the Department of Meteorology’.⁵¹ With the disciplinary gates smashed, anyone who could was welcome to join the chase for hosting cash-earning programmes. In October 2002, the Geography Department in the Faculty made a bid—as against the Department of Zoology and the Faculty of Law—for housing an inter-disciplinary M.A. Programme in Fresh Water Studies to begin in October 2003.⁵² That same year, the Faculty of Arts opened up ‘purely private programmes e.g., Organisational Studies, Secretarial Studies, Development Studies, Tourism, etc. to day government students’.⁵³ And in March 2003, Council approved the Senate recommendation that the Faculty of Arts house a new M.A. in Peace and Conflict Studies.⁵⁴

In a matter of but four years, from 1998–1999 to 2001–2002, the Faculty of Arts had been re-born, its hub a set of interdisciplinary vocational programmes. In all but name, it had ceased to be a Faculty of Humanities. The moment of truth dawned on the Faculty Board as early as its meeting of 22 March 2000. The discussion in the Board focussed on ‘the introduction of the new programmes’, and the observation that ‘students seemed to prefer going to these courses rather than the B.A. (Arts) course’, and that there was ‘an alarming decrease’ in the number of private students registering for the B.A. Arts course: from 224 in Year 3 to a mere 139 in Year 1. The Faculty Board was told that, if the present figures held, then ‘each course in B.A. (Arts) would have an average of 3 students only, which was not viable’. The Faculty noted ‘with regret that there was a possibility of the B.A. (Arts) dying out’. The most affected were the Institute of Languages and MDD, which had ‘the most subjects and the least students’. ‘Most alarming’ was the fact that ‘most of the staff were employed by the University for

these courses in the B.A. (Arts)'. The Faculty 'agreed that the problem had a lot to do with the name of the course' and 'that it was high time the Faculty name was also changed from Arts as "Arts" was perceived negatively and in any case no longer covered all that was offered in the Faculty'.⁵⁵

The Losers Who Joined: The Faculty of Education and AICE

Education Wants to Go Alone

The more commercialisation became entrenched, the more relations between Faculties were mediated through a cash nexus. Faculties that depended most on 'service' courses were the main casualties in this process. And none suffered more than the Faculty of Education which made a distinction between method and content: whereas courses in methodology were taught by the core academic staff of the Faculty, content courses were taught by discipline-based Departments, mainly in the Faculty of Arts (such as Religious Studies and History), but also in the Institute of Economics, the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Faculty of Science. This is why the crisis of 'service' courses immediately translated into a deep crisis for the Faculty of Education. At the root of the crisis was a simple fact: since the Faculty of Education had no control over academic staff from sister Faculties who taught 'service' courses, this staff could only be 'motivated' by monetary advantage.

We begin to get evidence of this crisis in Faculty discussions from 2000 on. Starting with the October 2000 meeting of the Board of Studies, 'members expressed great concern at the constant delays and uncooperative attitude displayed by certain Departments in the Faculty of Arts in the release of results to the School of Education'; furthermore, they expressed regret that 'this unprofessionalism' led

to 'bickering and distrust between colleagues in the School of Education and the mother Departments who teach Education students'.⁵⁶ A year later, the Board of Studies once again registered 'concern at the unabated and unfriendly attitude some sister Faculties had towards the School of Education', leading to 'delay in submitting results of Education students, reluctance in marking scripts of Education students, under marking Education students since these students were not their students'.⁵⁷

The disaffection spread from academic staff to students in Education. A March 2001 Memorandum from students of the School of Education to the Academic Registrar bitterly complained of mistreatment by lecturers from other Faculties: 'We students of the School of Education are academically endangered species. It has now become normal to carry [i.e., re-take] Economics and Religious Studies because of missing course work and examination results and yet students confess that they did their course work and examination. As if that is not enough the lecturers from Faculties of Arts and Social Sciences; Institutes of Economics and Languages, deliberately delay to mark course work and examination scripts of students of the School of Education just because they have natural dislike of the School of Education. Added to the above, some scripts are... even marked by people who are not lecturers, whose qualification to mark our scripts is their friendship with respective lecturers ... over 200 students out of the 300 evening students of the School of Education are not going to graduate because they either have missing course work or examination which they did or they are carrying in Economics or Religious Studies, yet carrying means shs 70,000 fees'.⁵⁸ To 'carry' or to 're-take' a course meant to repeat a course after failing it.

Like most controversies, that over 'missing course work marks' also had two sides to it. When I interviewed Dr Ddumba Ssentamu, the Director the Institute of Economics about the high failure rate

in economics subjects, he blamed it on the rapid decline in academic standards and student morality: 'Economics failure rates are very high. We abandoned giving assignments to students; instead, we give course work tests. The assignments they can do at Wandegeya and M.I.S.R. With tests, the failure rate increased'.⁵⁹ His claim was that since assignments are take-home tests, they were often done by graduates who worked at the nearby market [Wandegeya] or were based at the Makerere Institute of Social Research [M.I.S.R.] on campus, but course work tests were completed in class and so only the student could do them.

The strategic weakness of the School of Education stemmed from the single fact that it was heavily reliant on 'service' courses. In a reform that rewarded those who were best placed to attain autonomy, the School was at the mercy of providers who could withdraw their services or name their prices. This fact became abundantly clear in the Education/Arts conflict over who would teach Religious Studies to Education students.

Religious Studies [Arts vs. Education]

On 12 November 2001, the Vice Chancellor appointed an ad hoc Committee to investigate the teaching of Religious Studies to the Bachelor of Arts (with Education) students. The matter concerned 'up to 600 students'.⁶⁰ The controversy between the Faculties of Arts and Education had raged for several years on the question: who had the right to teach what? On the face of it, the issue was simple. Students enrolled in the Faculty of Education mainly to become school teachers. They were supposed to be taught methods (how to teach) by the Education Faculty and content (what to teach) by the Faculty with disciplinary competence on the subject in which they wish to specialise as teachers. The Education students with an Arts specialisation were taught the following Arts subjects: Geography, History, Languages (ELS, French, German, Kiswahili,

Luganda, Runyakitara), Literature, MDD (Music), and Religious Studies.

The problem arose from a set of conflicting decisions made over the years by Senate, responding to two conflicting objectives: on the one hand, getting Faculties to generate income, on the other, getting them to keep up standards.⁶¹ When the School of Education proposed to run an evening Bachelor of Arts (with Education) Degree programme in November 1995, 'they requested that their programme be similar to the day programme but that it be run entirely by the School of Education', mainly 'for the purposes of generating capital development funds for the School of Education'. Senate, and following it, the University Council (at its 71st meeting of 27 and 28 November and 4 December 1995), approved the proposal. Senate returned to the issue three years later. This time, though, its perspective was shaped by the need to assure quality when the same course was being taught in different Programmes, rather than to encourage money-making. Noting the proliferation of similar courses across different Faculties, but with different examinations based on identical curricula, the Senate ad hoc Committee concluded: 'To ensure quality, the Senate mandated the parent units the custodianship of courses shared across different Faculties/Department with respect to teaching and examination procedures, i.e., for the B.A. with Education programmes the respective department of the Faculty of Arts had the mandate to teach the subject content whereas the Faculty of Education was to handle the professional disciplines'.⁶² One cannot but notice the irony in a situation where the Faculty of Arts, which had by now set itself up as the home of vocational programmes, was now standing as a custodian of disciplinary competence with respect to the School of Education, a professional school.

The Senate resolution notwithstanding, the School of Education decided to follow the route pioneered by the Faculty of Arts,

and sacrifice competence-defining academic boundaries on the altar of income generation. When the School of Education's Religious Education Unit met on 22 September 2000, it resolved 'to entirely domesticate the B.A./Education (Evening course)'. In making a distinction between Evening and Day courses, the Unit was going with the trend: that whereas the day programme must honour the University's traditional safeguards regarding academic excellence, evening programmes need not since their primary purpose was to generate revenue. The Academic Registrar's office then followed by calling several meetings with the two parties, starting 27 January 2001, in the spirit of 'harmonisation'. At these meetings, all present ritually affirmed previous resolutions. But no sooner had the meetings ended than there followed a flurry of letters, accusations and counter-accusations, and then personal confrontations which the ad hoc Committee politely referred to as 'unprofessional behaviour'. The Acting Academic Registrar's response was to call another 'harmonisation' meeting of all Deans and key representatives. It resolved that all staff teaching in both Faculties 'should meet and draw up comprehensive marking schemes for all the examinations sat for'. But the ecumenical approach failed. As the issue remained unresolved, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education and Sports wrote to the Vice Chancellor in November 2001 'pointing out among other things that RSD 302 examination scripts were found unmarked and arbitrary marks had been pegged onto each of the scripts', a development that in the first place had prompted the Vice Chancellor to appoint the ad hoc Committee to look into the matter.⁶³

Like Senate and the Office of the Academic Registrar, the Faculty of Arts too did not tire of affirming a matter of principle—that disciplinary competence lay with the parent Faculty—but only so long as it reinforced pecuniary interest. The dispute, said the Content Subject Committee appointed by the Dean of Arts,⁶⁴ began

when a number of staff members from the Department of Religious Education (in the Education Faculty) ‘started teaching on the evening programme [in Religious Studies] without being vetted by the Department of Religious Studies [in Arts]’. The Committee concluded that ‘the problem of generating money is at the centre of this diversion of teaching what the School is not supposed to teach’. It noted that the Faculty of Education ‘does not accept more than 100 students admitted on Government sponsorship, yet they now have more than 1,000 private students’, that ‘the majority of lecturers in the School of Education are qualified to teach methods, as opposed to content’.⁶⁵ And yet, the School had effectively shut out those in the Faculty of Arts with a disciplinary competence relevant to their students—such as History, Literature, and now, Religious Studies. At the same time, Education ‘does not carefully select who teaches the subject content’. The Committee Report identified two practices of concern: one, ‘in some Departments, Heads and Course Coordinators allocate themselves a lot of teaching load in comparison to other members of staff’; and, two, when they recruit others, the ‘lower cadres of staff, rather than the higher cadres in a Department, usually get asked by the Heads/Coordinators of outside disciplines to teach for them’.⁶⁶ One could be excused for thinking that the Faculty of Arts was describing some of its own practices.

The affirmation of principle, that higher education is about the pursuit of quality, ignored the fact that the income-generating units in the University—and not just one Faculty—were so systematically getting soiled with a market ethic that many of their staff were no longer willing to do anything that was not directly paid for. Both sides in the dispute came up with examples to highlight the mercenary factor governing the conduct of the other. On the part of the Faculty of Arts, the Head of the Department of Religious Studies complained to the ad hoc Committee that the evening programme ‘was pegged to finances’, and that ‘lecturers from the pa-

rent department could not teach as the timetable was deliberately changed from time to time. Even, in cases where they taught, they were not remunerated'.⁶⁷ There were also allegations that Education lecturers took to 'politicising and inciting students, in a bid to frustrate other lecturers from teaching their courses', and that 'the major problem was money for teaching, setting and marking'.⁶⁸

On its part, the School of Education complained that a mercenary culture had so contaminated the Faculty of Arts that it had led to declining standards, evidenced in poor teaching by Arts lecturers and poor performance by Education students in Religious Studies.⁶⁹ Part of the evidence lay in contrasting practices between the two Faculties. Whereas the School of Education paid each lecturer a flat rate for marking course work of all students in a course, regardless of their numbers, payment in the Faculty of Arts was per student assessed. Furthermore, whereas the School of Education made no payment for marking exams, the Faculty of Arts paid 700 shs per script marked. It was claimed that the disparity in practices led to strange outcomes: on the one hand, Arts lecturers were accused of being uninterested in marking Education scripts (because no payment was involved), either marking them late or simply giving arbitrary marks; on the other, two lecturers in Education were accused of monopolising the marking of all scripts of Arts students (so as to be paid for it), leading to the late submission of results.⁷⁰

It is to the credit of the Faculty of Arts Content Subject Committee that it was able to take a distance from contending Faculties and joined its critique of the School of Education with an internal critique of the Faculty of Arts: 'Much as staff of Arts think that the staff in the School of Education are not qualified enough to teach content, they need to exercise self criticism with regard to the quality of their teaching'. It pointed to 'a growing crisis whereby many members of academic staff are teaching in as many as four places', and 'courses where colleagues make false claims with regard

to lectures not taught'. It pointed to 'money-generating activities at Departmental level outside the control of the Faculty' such as translation services in Languages and various consultancies in MDD and Geography, as evidence of a mercenary ethic run rampant. The result is that 'many lecturers in Arts teach many papers outside the areas of their specialisation'; not surprisingly, 'some programmes have no qualified staff' and others, which should have practical work, have none, such as Tourism, with the result that 'elsewhere Tourism is taught in hotels and that our course is yet to be recognised in the market place'.⁷¹

In the final analysis, the Senate ad hoc Committee could do no more than express concern that 'in some of the University's privately sponsored programmes, financial considerations seem to supersede academic quality assurance', and resolve that 'all Senate and Council decisions should be implemented immediately'.⁷² But if the problem lay in contradictory decisions reflecting deeper tensions, particularly between quality and commercialisation of higher education, the solution was surely beyond the reach of an ad hoc Committee.

The response of the School of Education to the crisis of commercialisation was the same as that of all other 'revenue-producing units', i.e., to call for total autonomy. This call was made in the form of a formal proposal in July 2001. Calling for 'Domestication of the Education Degree Programmes', the proposal boldly advanced the 'aim' of 'housing all Education courses both content and methodology in the School of Education'. The reason was also spelt out: 'The School of Education shall then have control and recruit all the staff to handle educational courses. This would strengthen the element of professionalism'. And finally the utopian promise, that 'the domestication of courses would solve all the problems faced by students and lecturers', even 'examinations would run smoothly'. The Faculty Board passed the proposal and recommended that it

‘be presented immediately to Senate so that this can be effected next academic year 2001–02’.⁷³

The Senate Academic Programmes and Library Committee considered the proposal at its meetings in July and September 2003. Instead of challenging the premise of the proposal, the Senate Committee suggested that the School re-submit it after a revision that would follow needs assessment, extensive consultation with other stakeholders and study experiences in other regions. In addition, it asked for a comprehensive and revised proposal that would include a pilot stage.⁷⁴ The Board of Studies of Education meeting of September 2004 chose to construe this as a signal to go ahead, noting that ‘Senate (had) agreed that the School should start domestication on a pilot phase’ and so resolved that ‘domestication will now commence as a pilot programme in the Department of Language Education with the first year students for three years’ with an appraisal ‘when the pioneer group complete(s) the programme’.

And yet, the proposal to ‘domesticate’ courses flatly contradicted the lessons the School had itself just drawn from falling performance among Education students, particularly in Economics. Even the September 2004, meeting of the Board had for the umpteenth time deliberated over ‘the case of the 28 students who entered in 1997 and 1998 and have sat and failed Economics 200 three times’.⁷⁵ The irony is that only two months after the School submitted the formal proposal for autonomy in July 2001, its Board of Studies had noted the importance of ‘service’ courses in upholding standards. After an extended discussion of possible reasons for ‘high failure rates of their students offering Economics courses’—no tutorials, timetable clashes for students who have to do retakes, lack of a strong Mathematical or Quantitative background, that the BA Ed and BSc Ed programmes tended to be overloaded and that the School of Education did not have Economics text books for

their students—the Board adopted four recommendations. While the fourth was administrative (ensuring no timetable clashes), the first three related directly to the importance of ‘service’ courses in maintaining quality education. The Board resolved that all Economics classes in Education and Arts (Evening) be ‘under management of MUIE” (Makerere University Institute of Economics); to make this possible, ‘the School of Education should transfer the proportion of tuition fees to MUIE instead of paying directly to the individual lecturers’; finally, ‘the University administration should improve upon the facilities required for effective teaching and learning’.⁷⁶

Yet in the following month, October, the Board reversed its position again. Noting that ‘laxity on the part of examiners’ was one reason for ‘the delay in submitting results’, it unanimously recommended that ‘Education programmes should be rewritten so that they are all domesticated in the School of Education’.⁷⁷ Similarly, when two years later (in December 2003) the Dean ‘voiced great concern over the five months’ delay in processing and publishing Semester Two 2002–2003 results’—citing the ‘glaring case of failure to submit results in Psychology 321 and Psychology 721’ which ‘had caused an “incomplete/no results” crisis affecting all third year and postgraduate candidates respectively’—the Board observed that ‘failure to submit examination results was a violation of terms of appointment’ and that ‘disciplinary action should be constituted against culprits and their offer of services be reviewed’. It then resolved ‘that in order to avoid such an embarrassing situation from a Servicing Department, the School would justifiably claim to have its own Department of Educational Psychology as was the case in the past’.⁷⁸

The flip-flop attitude of the School of Education, reversing course repeatedly over a short period, was testimony that it was in a no-win situation. On the one hand, financial considerations drove it to

strive for autonomy; on the other, considerations of quality called for a strengthening of relations with Faculties providing 'service' courses to its students. This is why every time it made a decision, adverse consequences pressed it to reverse course. It was a conundrum to which no individual Faculty could on its own come up with a satisfactory solution.

IACE (the Institute of Advanced and Continuing Education)
and the price of Cost-Free Expansion

From the time the reform began, top decision-makers at Makerere tended to assume that the admission of privately-sponsored students had to be free of extra cost to the Central Administration. So they gave academic units more or less total freedom to decide the number of private students they would admit from one academic year to another—as long as they did not ask the Central Administration to bear any part of the cost of educating a larger student population. Not surprisingly, the largest expansion was registered in the one unit that was most involved in long distance education. Since its students were not residential, space was a lesser concern to it than to others. For that same reason, this unit—the Institute of Advanced and Continuing Education (IACE)—best illustrates the price that a policy of reckless, commercially-motivated expansion exacted in terms of quality of education.

IACE began a programme in long distance education in 1991. All the students were privately-sponsored. After ten years, the Institute noted that 'our students now total about 6312 for both B. Ed. and B. Com.' To its credit, the Institute produced an honest self-appraisal of its first ten years at its tenth anniversary. Titled 'External Degree Materials Development and Production Position Paper', it fully outlined the cost of such unparalleled expansion.⁷⁹

At the heart of the crisis of distance education was a dire shortage of reading materials, whether externally or locally produced: 'Out of the 400 courses offered on the Bachelor of Education programme, materials development has been and is being carried out on about 40 courses only. This covers about 10 percent of the B.Ed. programme.' The situation in the B.A. Commerce programme was even worse: 'Coverage on the Bachelor of Commerce with actual distance education units is 0%. Of the forty courses on offer, only about five courses have locally developed materials, but which are not in distance learning mode.'

There was simply no available reading material: 'Although the ideal common practice in better funded distance education programmes is that students receive and take study materials permanently ... because of the low level of funding for materials development activities ... it is far fetched to even dream of giving materials away permanently.'⁸⁰ At the same time, there was little hope of developing materials locally: 'After 10 years of fruitless striving with course writers who are unwilling to produce any work for their programmes in distance education mode, it is only prudent that the Department considers alternative sources for such materials.'

The first solution IACE attempted was through the World Bank-sponsored African Virtual University (AVU) which involved a partnership of Makerere, Mbarara University and Uganda Polytechnic Kyambogo.⁸¹ The pilot phase lasted from 1 October 1997 to 30 May 1998.⁸² Senate facilitated the enterprise in 1998 by resolving that the African Virtual University, 'a World Bank project still in its pilot phase ... be integrated into the Makerere University Curriculum with effect from 1997–1998 academic year',⁸³ in spite of the fact that Makerere's participation in the project was clearly more as a relay station than as a centre of knowledge production. Courses were prepared at the World Bank and relayed to

students based at Makerere. The Distance Education Department of IACE reported that '12 courses were transmitted from Washington, benefiting 324 students'. The numbers involved were nominal and the main benefit of the \$100,000 grant from the World Bank was 'a total of 60 computers'.⁸⁴

IACE's only remaining hope was to look for aid money to purchase these materials elsewhere: 'Therefore, in courses where there is proven unwillingness or inability to develop materials in distance education mode, funding is to (be) sought to acquire developed materials from the University of Nairobi, the Open University of Tanzania, the University of South Africa, Indira Gandhi Open University of India, and any other sources yet to be identified.' The paper closed with 'budget estimates for this activity'.⁸⁵

The core problem was shortage of staff: there were hardly any permanent and senior members at the Institute, and the running of the programme depended mainly on part-time and temporary junior staff: 'Permanent members of staff on the programme are very few and they have very heavy responsibilities, both administrative and academic. Many times they have to double up for other duties not directly under them'.⁸⁶ As we shall see, the problem of IACE—a product of shortage of reading materials and teaching staff, even if not of teaching space—reflected, in an aggravated manner, the problem of all revenue-earning Faculties and Institutes in the reformed Makerere.

The Competitors: Social Sciences

The Finance Committee recorded at its June 1995 meeting that the Faculty of Social Sciences was planning to launch an evening programme.⁸⁷ The Faculty's budget proposals for 1996–1997 estimated nearly a four-fold increase in revenue in a single year, from shs 175,156,762 for 1995–1996 to shs 653,656,322 for

1996–1997. The Finance Committee noted ‘that over 90% of the revenue was from fee-paying students’.⁸⁸ But the Faculty’s growth was neither as dramatic nor as smooth as that of its sister Faculty of Arts. This was for two reasons. The first was the problem of secession: as more and more successful or ambitious departments sought to control their present earnings and future plans, they broke away from the Faculty to establish autonomous Institutes. The second was a losing turf war with the Faculty of Arts.

Autonomy and Fragmentation

Since the advent of commercialisation in the mid-1990s, the Faculty had suffered two traumatic losses, leading to the establishment of two autonomous Institutes, one in Psychology and the other in Economics, both for reasons more commercial than academic.

Psychology: When Senate discussed the future of the Department of Psychology at its meeting of 4–5 December 1996, there was strong sentiment that the Department, which previously had two different homes—at first a split home in the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Faculty of Education, and then a single home in the Faculty of Education—actually be set up as a separate Institute.⁸⁹ In response, Senate established an Ad Hoc Committee on Psychology to look more deeply into the matter. The Ad Hoc Committee noted the separate development of academic Psychology and Educational Psychology up to 1975: whereas Educational Psychology had been ‘taught and administered in the Faculty of Education since 1952’, academic Psychology ‘had been taught and administered as a Unit in the Department of Sociology and Social Psychology in the Faculty of Social Sciences since early 1960s’. It became a separate degree course in 1967 and developed its own 3:1:1 programme in 1975. That same year, Senate agreed to end the dual pedigree of psychology, one academic (in the Social Sciences) and the other professional (in Education), and removed the Administration Unit

of Social Psychology 'from the Faculty of Social Sciences and joined [it] to Educational Psychology in the Faculty of Education' to form the Department of Psychology in 1975.

The Ad Hoc Committee recommended that the trend be reversed, once again separating professional from academic Psychology. It agreed that 'the transfer of Psychology from the Faculty of Social Sciences to the Faculty of Education has been disastrous to Social Science disciplines' and that 'Social Psychologists have been a misfit in the School of Education' where 'they lacked a suitable "home to grow in well"'. Furthermore, their access to growth opportunities was marginalised: 'they have not sufficiently benefited from scholarships as most of the scholarships in the School of Education targeted professional teachers/teacher educators'. So the Committee recommended, and Senate resolved, to accept 'in principle the idea of the creation of a Department of Psychology in the Faculty of Social Sciences'. To those who argued that Psychology should be a separate Institute since it was serving multiple Faculties, the ad hoc Committee responded 'that there should be a natural growth process such that a Department of Psychology would initially be established in a Faculty where it could "feel loved, could be nurtured and facilitated to grow"'. Taking the Department as a base, Psychology could then grow into an Institute if it was justified to do so'. Senate thus confirmed the dual departmental structure proposed by the Ad Hoc Committee—one professional, the other academic, the former a Department of Educational Psychology in the School of Education and the latter a Department of Psychology in the Faculty of Social Sciences.⁹⁰

That was in 1997. In another two years, however, Senate overturned its decision and instructed its Humanities Committee to prepare a new proposal creating an Institute of Psychology 'to become fully operational in the 1999–2000 academic year'. As was becoming customary with decisions informed by a commercial logic,

the record of the discussion was less than a page. It explained 'that since the original Department of Psychology had the potential of expanding and providing services to other Academic Units, it was better to develop it into an Institute and grant it autonomy'.⁹¹ So the Humanities Committee recommended—and Senate accepted—the establishment of a full-blown Institute with four Departments and a full-time academic establishment of 40. The four Departments included the original Department of Educational Psychology, an expanded Department of Organisational and Social Psychology, a new Department of Mental Health and Community Psychology, and a wholly new Outreach Unit.⁹² We shall later see that the setting up of an autonomous Institute made for an all-round crisis, not only for Psychology at Makerere but also for Education and Social Sciences, the two Faculties that hitherto had organic relations with two different branches of Psychology.

Economics: When the Department of Economics was set up as an autonomous Institute, Council gave the same rationale to justify its decision: that the Department was teaching students from numerous Faculties and should thus not be part of any particular Faculty.⁹³ As the Central Executive was often at pains to explain to Faculties, the semester system meant a shift of focus from subjects (disciplines) to courses. Students would thus be registered by course and not by subject.⁹⁴ This, indeed, was why the semester system went alongside inter-disciplinary programmes. Once both were introduced, their very logic was to drive more and more Departments into offering courses to more and more students from diverse Faculties. If the combined effect of the semester system on all discipline-based Departments was to get them to service students from diverse locations, would this be reason enough to turn Departments into autonomous Institutes?

The matter was discussed between the Faculty Board of Social Sciences and the Vice Chancellor on one of his rare visits to the

Faculty.⁹⁵ When members of the Faculty expressed ‘concern(ed) about the rate at which new Institutes are breaking away from the Faculty’, ‘the Vice Chancellor informed the meeting that such developments are inevitable’, and that the ‘development of Institutes and Faculties from the Faculty is a process of natural growth and does not constitute (a) loss to the Faculty’. Instead of resisting the development, the Faculty should ‘keep ready to develop other disciplines when some of them grow into others’. But the disciplines concerned had hardly ‘grown into others’; rather, they had moved into independent homes. As to what may be the response of the Faculty of Social Sciences, the Vice Chancellor ‘suggested that they could think of starting studies in Criminology, Anthropology and others to sustain the Faculty’. As if acknowledging the inadequacy of the alternative, he went on to suggest a way of reversing the decentralising trend, but without fully undercutting it. ‘The other way the Faculty may deal with the issue is to develop itself into a School or Constituent College composed of all its former constituents. Where inter-disciplinarity of programmes is possible, it should be encouraged.’ We shall later return to the proposal to set up Constituent Colleges, to the ways in which it was an attempt to solve problems unleashed by rampant commercialisation, and the ways in which it was likely to compound some of these.

There was also a second, though indirect, influence behind the growing aspirations to autonomy in the Department of Economics. This was the determination of the World Bank to transform Economics from an academic discipline to a professional pursuit. The World Bank’s involvement began at the postgraduate level in 1998–1999 with the introduction of an M. A. in Economic Policy Management, a programme that relied ‘on donor funds from African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF), World Bank and CIDA for the initial four years’.⁹⁶

The Turf War

The second reason why the Faculty of Social Science did not develop as dramatically as did the Faculty of Arts was its losing turf war with the latter. More than any other, this turf battle focussed on a single programme: Development Studies. As both Faculties turned to colleagues in other Faculties and to the Central Establishment for support, they made different arguments. Social Sciences argued on academic grounds that the core of Development Studies was made up of disciplines that were the mandate of the Social Sciences. The argument put forth by Arts was transparently entrepreneurial: whoever initiates a programme owns it. Arts won for the simple reason that the principle that it articulated was more in line with the actual course of the University's transformation. It was the reason why it received overwhelming support from both the Central Executive and the bulk of what were by now formally called 'revenue-earning Faculties'. Social Science pointed out that most courses in the Development Studies programme in Arts were being taught by academic staff from Social Science, and threatened to withhold labour and disrupt the programme. But the threat turned out to be empty for the simple reason that Social Science could not offer an alternative to growing commercialisation of the University. This too reflected a simple fact: that, instead of charting a new course, the Faculty was simply making a claim for a larger share of the pie. For that very reason, the Faculty could not deliver on the threat, for in the absence of a credible alternative, individual lecturers were unlikely to forego the lure of earning extra income by teaching in a private programme, even if in a rival Faculty, and their home Faculty had no way of reining them in. Not surprisingly, Social Sciences lost the turf battle for the undergraduate programme in Development Studies.

By July 2000, the Faculty Board of Social Sciences had an open discussion on 'the threat of duplication of courses by sister Faculties'

as 'a serious one'.⁹⁷ As it prepared for the second round of battle—this time around an M.A. in Development Studies—the Faculty turned to donors for support and for some credible weight. The change in strategy was discussed at the November meeting of the Faculty Board.⁹⁸ The Faculty had gone so far as to bring a donor representative, Professor Anders Namann of Sida/SAREC, to join in a meeting with the Deputy Vice Chancellor 'concerning the housing of the proposed Development Studies programme'. But the University authorities would neither give way nor see reason. The Dean reported to the Faculty that, alas, the Senate Harmonisation Committee 'had recommended that an Institute of Development Studies be established but the programme be housed by Faculty of Arts'. But the Dean had not given up all hope. There were still 'plans under way to have a linkage with the Universities of Gottenburgh Sweden and Kelaniya in Sri Lanka' under the auspices of Sida/SAREC, and the Faculty hoped these may provide 'additional reason to house the programmes under Faculty of Social Sciences'.⁹⁹

That Social Science was neither blind to the changing milieu of the University—its pervasive commercialisation—nor immune from it, was clear from its willingness to seek commercial advantage when possible. Of this there was no better example than the transfer of funds to servicing units, a matter that came under discussion at the same December 2000, meeting which had strategised on how to secure a Faculty home for the M.A. in Development Studies. The Board noted that the Faculty was expected to pay shs 159,32 million to the Institutes of Economics and Psychology in 2000–2001, the amount representing a third of its total income for the year. The Faculty Finance Committee, meeting on 13 November 2001, had 'devised alternative ways of paying service units'. After all, the Finance Committee pointed out to the Board, 'the Faculty of Arts was [directly] paying lecturers who teach Development Studies,

Social Anthropology, etc.’ Putting to use the very tactics employed by Arts in the turf war for the B.A. in Development Studies, the Faculty Finance Committee proposed ‘that it would be better and fairer to pay individual lecturers for services rendered than paying units’.¹⁰⁰ Dr Edward Kiremira, the Dean of the Faculty in 2003, explained to me that pressure for direct payment was also coming from individual members of staff in the Institute of Psychology. Whereas the Dean pressed for payment to the Institute, his staff wanted to be paid directly. ‘No wonder’, said Dr Kiremira, ‘Psychology has had four directors in three years. There are constant votes of no confidence’.¹⁰¹

The simple fact was that if the Faculty paid lecturers as opposed to units, as the Council demanded, it would be paying shs 82,560,000 as compared to shs 150,32 million for the year. The difference would be a whopping 70 million shs. Confronted with this compelling evidence, the Board also agreed ‘that paying the lecturers was fairer than paying a unit as shown in the above example’. As a gesture, the Board agreed to throw in a token for the ‘servicing Department/Unit’: ‘an administrative/institutional fee of not more than 5% of all transfers’.¹⁰²

The Resisters: The Faculty of Science

The Faculty of Science began to discuss the question of financial constraint and how to respond to it in 1993. The December meeting of the Faculty Board agreed with the Dean ‘that in the face of financial constraints on the University coupled with donor fatigue, it was indeed necessary for the Faculty to begin projects to generate income’. It thus decided ‘to identify the activities to generate money’.¹⁰³ The search for marketable courses immediately pointed in two directions: Computer Science and Environment. Both pursuits came to naught: one because it was so successful that the

unit concerned simply seceded from the Faculty when the money started rolling in, and the other because the initiative was pre-empted by a Faculty with a more entrepreneurial bent. It is worth following both developments to underline their lessons fully.

Computer Science

The December 1993 meeting of the Board of the Faculty of Science considered and approved a proposal from the Institute of Computer Science that 'short term courses in Computer Science would be a good move' to generate income. In light of subsequent developments, it is worth noting that the minutes also caution that 'if the venture was to succeed, there is need for proper methods of accountability'.¹⁰⁴ The May meeting of the Board received and approved proposals from the Heads of Departments meeting for a B.Sc. and an M.Sc. in Computer Science.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, the initiative succeeded spectacularly. As one may expect, its first consequence was that the Director of the Institute demanded that it become autonomous of the Faculty. The budget soared from 40 million shillings in 2000–2001 to 198 million the following year, to 1.1 billion the year after (2002–2003). As in other units, the Director's response was to increase staff top-up, but with a difference. The Director of the Institute got a top-up of 4.5 million shillings a month (it had been 300,000 before the Institute became autonomous), which made him the highest paid official in the University, even higher than the Vice Chancellor, whose top-up was said to be 3 million shillings a month, an amount that was now the top-up for the Deputy Director of the Institute. In addition, there were other allowances: a transport allowance of 500,000 shs a month, and a telephone allowance 'with a self-imposed limit', according to the Director.

If the Institute's income was lavishly spent on top-up salaries and allowances for its most senior staff, none of it went for research, as the Director told me with a straight face. When I asked the

Director about the programmes taught at the Institute, I understood why research was not a priority: the Institute had become a relay station, receiving programmes from overseas and sharing student fees with overseas providers. The main programmes were two: Cisco Certified Networking Associate (CCNA) and Cisco Certified Networking Professional (CCNP). But members of the Faculty of Science, like Dr Vincent V. Ssembatya, disagreed: 'Both Computer Science and Statistics have been weakening academically, attracted by Microsoft licensing, doing the thing Rank Consult [one of the vocational computer literacy labs in Kampala city] should be doing'.¹⁰⁶ But the Director heralded the Institute as a great success and believed that its lessons could be applied to restructure the Faculty of Science and, indeed, the entire University: 'If I was Dean of Science, I would retrain and redeploy, retrain the people so they get a PhD in Computer Science, open up and become multi-disciplinary, and design courses demanded by the market'.¹⁰⁷

The Institute was also the beneficiary of a brand new multi-storey building, paid for by NORAD. The Director considered the Institute, and not the University, as the rightful owner of the building. So when he proposed to add an entire floor to be used as the Director's Office, and the University objected, he took the University to the Inspector General of Government (IGG) and the Parliamentary Committee on Social Services for violating supposed property rights.¹⁰⁸

Environment

When it came to the subject of Environment, the Faculty of Science had an honourable track record. As early as March 1993, it re-defined entry requirements to M.Sc. Environment, thereby broadening access to it, and decided to initiate a new B.Sc. Environmental Health Course that would draw on the established

staff in the Department of Environment.¹⁰⁹ The Faculty's real claim to an inter-disciplinary programme in Environment was its Institute of Environment and Natural Resources (MUIENR). When the Institute presented its syllabus to Senate in 1995, it was rejected 'because it ignored some fields/areas as law and physics', and yet MUIENR's mandate was to develop as the top authority on environment in the country, so the Dean informed the Faculty.¹¹⁰ During 1998 and 1999, MUIENR tried to become autonomous, but the case was difficult to make given its dependence on the science departments.¹¹¹ When the proposal for upgrading the Institute to an autonomous status was rejected by the Senate Science Committee on grounds that 'it was not clear how the autonomous institute would relate to the Faculty of Science', the Faculty decided to strengthen the proposal for autonomy by housing new programmes in the Institute.¹¹² This new programme was 'the MUIENR Bachelor of Environmental Science programme', introduced to the Faculty as 'part of the MUIENR autonomy proposal'.¹¹³ But this proposal ran against the ambitions of the Faculty of Arts. When it came before Senate in January 2003, Senate compared the two programmes on Environment and observed that 'although both programmes have some Courses (in) ... common', the programme in Geography 'had the Arts or management approach' whereas the MUIENR programme 'had the scientific approach' and so, it resolved, 'that the two programmes should be conducted concurrently'.¹¹⁴ It would have been far more correct to identify 'the management approach' with the Business School rather than the Arts, but no one in Senate dared breathe a disciplinary objection to commercialisation, especially in the lead Faculty, Arts. In the final analysis, the initiative to create an Institute (MUIENR) housing a full-fledged programme in Environment bore a modest fruit—at least in part because a programme in Environment was already housed in the Faculty of Arts.

These minor initiatives notwithstanding, the Faculty of Science led the resistance to market-driven reform. In fact, the more it faced pressure from Central Administration to reform, the more it turned into a critic of the same reform. The criticism came to a head on two issues: the disregard of disciplinary competence and the demand that student numbers be increased in spite of limited facilities. The Faculty defended both the principle of disciplinary competence and restricted student numbers on the grounds of providing a research-oriented, quality education. The controversy around disciplinary competence arose when the old Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry, the only convert to a 'revenue-earning' ethic among the science-based Faculties, vied for ownership of a market-friendly programme in Science, a proposed B.Sc. in Wildlife Management on grounds that it 'had been the first academic unit to present its proposal'. This claim echoed that of the Faculty of Arts. Not surprisingly, the response of the Faculty of Science targeted the entrepreneurial ethic championed by revenue-earning Faculties. Noting this, the Science Committee of Senate argued 'that being the first Academic Unit to propose the introduction of a new programme *per se* could not be enough guarantee that a particular Academic Unit was competent enough or had the necessary facilities to house and teach such a programme'. Rather, there was 'need for having the mission and mandate of every Academic Unit clearly spelt out'. So it recommended to Senate 'that every Faculty/Institute/School Board should spell out its mission and mandate and present them for the consideration of the Science/Humanities Committees at their next regular meetings'.¹¹⁵

The December 1998 meeting of the Faculty Board of Science called on the authority of the Senate Science Committee to argue that 'some Faculties were developing programmes that would best be based in other Faculties', because 'they do not have the appropriate manpower or laboratory infrastructure'. According to

the Board, the two programmes of Fisheries and Wildlife Management fell in this category. The Board of the Faculty of Science accordingly called on the University 'to come up with a general framework within which new programmes can be developed without causing a conflict of interests among Faculties'.¹¹⁶

But the friction between the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine and the Faculty of Science over who should mount Wildlife programmes continued, and became so acrimonious that the Senate Science Committee meeting referred to these as 'wrangles' which had occupied both Senate's Harmonisation Committee (21 June 2000) and the Special Meeting of Senate (6–7 December 2000). Preoccupied with looking for a compromise, the three bodies agreed that Vet establish a B.Sc. in Wildlife Health and Management, and the Faculty of Science and the Faculty of Forestry and Nature Conservation develop a degree programme in Conservation Biology. At issue was also who would do the registration of each programme, since the Faculty that registered students was also the Faculty that would receive from the Centre the portion of fees due the academic unit.¹¹⁷ The lesson was clear: so long as the Faculty did not have the ear of the Central Administration, it would be on the losing side.

By 1995–1996, the question of private students had become a regular topic of discussion at Faculty Board meetings. Though offered as a panacea for the Faculty's financial problems, the panacea continued to remain elusive. The February 1996 Board meeting noted that 'every Faculty was required to admit up to ten percent' private students and yet 'private students were rather few in the Faculty'. To solve the practical problem of admitting evening students in a Faculty where evenings were often taken up by laboratory work, the Board suggested that 'students do practicals during long vacations'; in other words, it proposed to do away with vacations. Even then, many in the Faculty wondered about the

soundness of a strategy that called for an increased intake of students without expanding facilities or resources. The minutes crisply ‘noted with concern’:

- (i) That love for money should not surpass the need for quality;
- (ii) That facilities were not enough at present to handle extra programmes.

The discussion concluded with a cryptic observation, ‘that it was necessary to know what motives were behind the need for increase of intake figures’.¹¹⁸

Matters came to a head in the Finance Committee meeting of July 1996 which focussed on the dilemma of science-based Faculties. Two reports, one from the Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, and the other from the Faculty of Science, underlined the source of the problem. The report from the Director of the Institute was forthright.¹¹⁹ He said that ‘not too many privately sponsored students were admitted because the Institute wanted to maintain the high standards’. When members of the Finance Committee observed ‘that the Institute would generate more funds by having an evening class programme’, the Director responded ‘that having an evening programme may also be limited as the course required practicals which may not be possible with classes beginning at 5.00 p.m.’ But, as is clear from its minutes, the Finance Committee was not convinced. Instead, the Committee ‘agreed that the Director should endeavour to institute an evening programme using the already laid down procedure of having such a programme, as this would substantially lead to increases in the incomes of the Institute’. The Committee was clearly following the lead from higher authorities in the University. They had hit on a formula—evening classes and fees-paying private students—and were content to waive it as a magic wand in front of any recalcitrant unit. Having done just that, the Committee moved on to the next item on the agenda.

The next item was the report from the Dean of Science. The experience he recounted with evening programmes and market-oriented courses was no different. To anyone who thought the earlier report from the Institute of Statistics and Applied Sciences had been overly influenced by the personality of its Director, this was a timely reminder that the problems it identified had a wider relevance. This is how the minutes summed up the kernel of the dilemma: 'That the Science-based disciplines did not also plentifully attract privately sponsored students as opposed to the Humanities'. The Minutes also spelt out the reason for this: 'that instituting an evening programme was difficult as the sciences involved practicals'. Nevertheless, the Committee followed with its formulaic two-fold solution: one, 'the Faculty of Science should not rely so heavily on the traditional sciences but should begin to design careers that pay in terms of employment like environmental studies'; and two, 'that the Faculty of Science should design evening class programmes for non-practical subjects'.¹²⁰ The larger solution advanced by the Finance Committee—a move from academic to professional and vocational subjects and, in that context, from laboratory-based to non-laboratory science—would sound the death-knell of laboratory-based study of science, academic and professional. Not surprisingly, scientists in the academy did everything to resist it.

The Faculty was up against real constraints: facilities were limited and their use could not exceed the length of the working day. The Faculty Board of February 1997 noted 'that Departments could not exceed the student numbers due to the limited facilities available in the Faculty', that even if it was 'desirable' to reduce the number of government-sponsored students to increase the intake of private students, it was not 'feasible'. So it proposed to admit 330 government-sponsored students—and an additional 30 percent of private students for 1997–1998. To meet the latter target, the Board noted that the Central Executive of the University had advised

Faculties to design 'attractive programmes, targeting NGOs, UN bodies and their programmes or people who wish to upgrade their qualifications with certificates and diplomas'.¹²¹ And the pressure kept on increasing. The Faculty Board of February 1997–1998 noted that the stakes had gone up: the Dean reported that Council had proposed to the Minister of Education that 50 percent of all student admissions be private.¹²² The kind of pressure being applied on the Science-based Faculties is clear from the minutes of 20 March 2001, Special Meeting of the Board of Postgraduate Studies and Research. Here is the record of discussions under the sub-head 'Science Programmes':¹²³

Concerned: That many science programmes had stringent admission rules.

Observed:

1. That the rules were meant to protect the professions in Science disciplines.
2. That the rules could be relaxed depending on the objectives of the programme.

Advised: That the Science disciplines should introduce more and more of the multidisciplinary programmes.

Clearly, the Faculty was being nudged to follow the example of the Faculty of Arts and move from an academic to a vocational orientation. Over the years, though, it became clear that the science-based Faculties were not having an easy time weathering the drought in the market place. But the central administration and its allies in revenue-earning Faculties were no longer interested in concrete problem-solving. They had reduced the 'commercialising' reforms to two sound bites: multi-disciplinarity and market orientation, with a third (gender sensitivity) added in response to donor pressure. When the University-wide Strategic Planning Retreat discussed the

report of the Faculty of Science, its advice to the Faculty was formulaic, to 'adopt a multidisciplinary approach to science and consider introducing gender responsive short courses in science (and) in addition making the courses market oriented'. The next report was from the Faculty of Technology, and the advice tendered was no different:¹²⁴

- (i) The Faculty would conduct an assessment to ascertain why there were few applicants seeking admission to the courses at the Faculty.
- (ii) The Faculty would liaise with the private sector to identify and formulate courses that were market oriented.
- (iii) Gender and business would be made an integral part of the new programmes of study.

During 2000–2001, the Faculty of Science began four new programmes. Of these, only two (B.Sc. Fisheries and B.Sc. Industrial Chemistry) managed to draw students; the other two, designed with both eyes on the market place (B.Sc. of Geological Resource Management and Bachelor of Sports Science) failed to realise 'the optimal number required for them to start and thus were postponed until the following year'.¹²⁵ Not surprisingly, the Faculty Board of February 2002, devoted a full item on its agenda to the question of 'Marketing of Basic Sciences to the General Public'. The Dean 'reiterated the need to advertise the Faculty of Science programmes'; he 'encouraged members to participate in school visits to discuss the opportunities open to science graduates'; and 'reported that the Faculty Office was arranging to utilise the Schools Handbook of Uganda to reach more schools through this avenue of advertisement'.¹²⁶ Hard as they tried, it was clear that advertising was not the answer to surviving in the market place. The Dean

conveyed the bitter truth to the Special Meeting of the Board in April 2002. This is how the minutes record his observations:¹²⁷

- (i) That the Faculty of Science student intake was dropping every academic year.
- (ii) That even the new professional and paying courses like Ethnobotany intakes were dropping and would not remain cost effective.
- (iii) That the School of Education which is serviced by the Faculty of Science also had fewer students.
- (iv) That the dropout of science teachers at school levels was also growing and affecting prospective university intakes.
- (v) That the cost of running science programmes and uncertain availability of science teachers made it easier to start more Art schools in the country.

The experience of the Faculty of Science was echoed in other science-based Faculties. Take, for example, the Faculty of Technology. The Faculty Board noted that ‘enrolment had been going down’ and recorded ways of reversing the trend, including increasing ‘the number of private students’ and better advertising its courses.¹²⁸ Only two meetings later, however, the minutes noted that ‘the 2002–2003 budget did not yield the required results because of a shortfall in the number of private students from an estimated number of 540 to the actual number of 420’.¹²⁹ But the academic staff was unwilling to take the Arts route and subordinate research to teaching, even if this were an option. When members were successful in receiving research funding from the Rockefeller-funded I@Mak.com project, and the Academic Registrar commented that ‘many members of staff were no longer teaching effectively because of their involvement in the I@Mak.com project’, the Faculty objected strongly.¹³⁰ The Faculty Board minutes recorded that ‘three

courses for a lecturer to teach in a Semester was a bit too much. In such a situation, a lecturer becomes overworked and becomes inefficient'.¹³¹ In a meeting with the Vice Chancellor, the members of the Faculty were insistent: 'The mission of the Faculty was to teach and carry out research and everything else was secondary'.¹³² The March 2003, meeting of the Board recorded 'increasing numbers of resignations of members of staff'.¹³³

The Faculty was in a crisis. And the fact was that the market was both spreading the crisis and deepening it. Nothing less than urgent and active intervention by the authorities at all levels—the University, the Ministry and the State—was needed to reverse this trend. But that intervention was not forthcoming.

Many in the science-based Faculties had been convinced that, rather than being an answer to the Faculty's problems, the market-oriented strategy was in fact the source of them. As early as the February 1999 meeting of Council, notwithstanding the optimism he conveyed about the prospects of attracting students to new and sexy private courses like the programme in Ethnobotany, Professor Luboobi went on to raise the question of the cost of a reform that devalued basic sciences and sought to restructure curriculum around applied sciences and professional programmes. According to the Minutes of the meeting: 'He, however, cautioned fellow Councillors on the importance of supporting basic sciences for he believed that applied sciences could not be relevant without the background input from the former. He, therefore, requested for continued government support in the traditional basic sciences'.¹³⁴ Professor Luboobi's views were widely shared in both the Faculty and among some of the top administrators. Dr Hannington Oryem-Origa, the Dean of the Faculty of Science in 2003, complained that one impact of the reform had been 'a shift of emphasis from basic sciences to applied sciences'. 'If the basic sciences disappear, all others will disappear. Basic sciences produce knowledge for others, and produce teachers

(biology, physics) for others. Basic courses generate scientific knowledge.¹³⁵ Professor Opuda-Asibo, the Director of the School of Postgraduate Studies, agreed: 'The policy drivers have not driven the science car; they have left it to the spanner boys'.¹³⁶

But there was little support, and little indication of a sympathetic hearing, from government. Over time, science-based Faculties were compelled to design their own survival strategies in a rough market place. The starting point of that strategy was their comparative advantage: that they focussed on developing research-based postgraduate programmes. It is through the expansion of Ph.D. research that they laid a claim on more resources; if the market could not be the mechanism for realising that claim, the donors would—for donor priorities, including the priorities of those who offered the market as a panacea, were not set by the market. The priorities were political. When the Vice Chancellor reported to Senate in April 1999, he cited the Faculty of Science 'as one of the most active in training at Ph.D. level through the linkages it had forged with other universities and collaborative efforts in research'.¹³⁷

The Faculty of Science was not alone in looking to research funds as a way out of its financial problems. When the Government of Uganda released shs 300 million to the University for research in 1994–1995, 88 research projects were approved by the Committee on Postgraduate Studies and Research. No less than 32 of these were housed in two Faculties: the Faculty of Science (15) and the Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry (17).¹³⁸ But Government funding for research at the University declined drastically in just five years, from 300 million in 1994–1995 to 134 million in 1999–2000.¹³⁹ Research projects approved in April 1995 were not funded until June 1999. Of these, ten were in Agriculture (8) and Science (2), and seven in Education (4), Arts (1), Continuing Education (1), and MISR (1).¹⁴⁰

Table 8: Research Projects, Approved in 1995,
Funded in 1999

Faculty	Amount Approved	Amounts Given
Agriculture (8)	104,005,700	45,556,548
Arts (1)	25,000,000	6,000,000
Education (4)	46,485,800	20,512,285
Science (2)	32,071,803	10,000,000
MISR (1)	23,350,340	10,895,550
IACE (1)	18,074,650	7,000,000

At the University's Strategic Plan Workshop in 2000, the Acting Dean of the Faculty of Science presented a paper titled 'Affirmative Action in Favour of Science-Based Faculties which are not Coping with Income Generating'. Writing on behalf of eight science-based Faculties or Institutes (Agriculture, Forestry and Nature Conservation, Computer Science, Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, Medicine, Science, Technology, Veterinary Medicine), he cited the following fact as justification for affirmative action: 'Apart from the Faculty of Agriculture, ISAE and to a lesser extent the Faculty of Technology, the other Faculties and Institutes do not raise large sums of money though income generating activities listed above'.¹⁴¹ Even the Faculty of Agriculture, often touted as a success case by the Vice Chancellor, was not quite that according to its Associate Dean, Dr Sentongo Kibalama: 'We have not had a significant increase in student intake in Agriculture. The success story is the Bachelor of Agribusiness management. It is successful because it has a business component'.¹⁴²

Abandoned by the state and unable to tap opportunities in the market, science-based Faculties turned to donors to carve out research as an agenda for the future—even if this meant accepting a donor-driven research agenda. At the 2 June 1999 meeting of the Board of

Postgraduate Studies and Research, the Acting Director called for 'Stakeholder Oriented Research'.¹⁴³ If this euphemism for implementing a donor agenda to receive donor funds was a strategy in 1999, it depicted existing reality by 2003.

Besides donors, science-based Faculties pegged their survival strategy on the university's own Staff Development Programme.¹⁴⁴ This, too, had a price: the bottom line was that the research at Makerere be tied to a donor-defined agenda. Research projects were undertaken either by individual academic staff or by postgraduate students. Either way, they involved collaboration with an institution in the donor country, based on its research agenda. For example, the Faculty of Veterinary Sciences launched a collaborative project on improving the performance of local chicken that included three East African Universities and the Danish University of Agriculture.¹⁴⁵ The Department of Mathematics received valuable funding from the Norwegian programme, NUFU, which funded basic sciences. NUFU began in the mid-1990s as a capacity-building programme to train Ph.Ds and send them back to their home countries. Soon after, it designed a phase two that focussed on particular areas of applied maths, 'particularly research that goes to industry', and so tended to push this area 'at the expense of pure maths'. Sida/SAREC had a broader vision but limited funding, \$50,000 for all three East African countries.¹⁴⁶ When the Swedes did devise a more substantial programme, they too tied it with their own university's research agenda. For example, Sida/SAREC supported six Ph.D. programmes in the Faculty of Technology. All were based on collaboration between Swedish universities and Makerere's Faculty of Technology, so that every doctoral student had two supervisors, one at Makerere and another in Sweden. The rationale for this arrangement was explained to me by Dr Nawangwa, the Dean of Technology: The Makerere supervisor 'also understudies the colleague there, since they have never supervised before'. The student spends

18 months in Sweden, from where [he or she] gets a *licensate*, and the rest of the time at Makerere: 'The end result is a Makerere Ph.D.'.¹⁴⁷ Dr Sentongo Kibalama, the Associate Dean in the Faculty of Agriculture, observed: 'Donors insist on participatory [i.e., market-oriented] research: the farmer must identify the research problem. We can't do basic research. There is no basic research. This is how donors decide the research agenda'.¹⁴⁸ The Dean of the Faculty of Forestry and Natural Conservation also agreed: 'All research is donor-driven. They come up with the concept and look for a partner from the South'.¹⁴⁹

How critical donor support was for science research is clear from one single fact communicated to the Senate meeting on 1 September 2004 by the new Vice Chancellor, Professor Luboobi, that 'the University depended entirely on donor funding for equipment'.¹⁵⁰

Notes

1. Interview, Professor Sebuwufu, Vice Chancellor, 1 August 2003.
2. Comment by Professor Ruth Mukama, Former Dean, Faculty of Arts, Internal Makerere Workshop, Senate House, 19 August 2005.
3. Interview, Dr Sengendo, Dean, Faculty of Arts, 23 July 2003.
4. See figures on fee transfers for November, 2000 to different faculties: 77,516,775 to the Faculty of Arts vs. 39,415,000 to Education, the next highest. Deans and Directors Consultative Forum, Letter to Chairman, University Council, 8 December 2000: pp. 6-7.
5. Mark Byaruhanga, 'The Paradox of Curriculum Innovation and Implementation in a Liberalized Higher Education System in Uganda: A Challenge to Makerere

- University', Paper Presented at the 10th General Assembly of CODESRIA, International Conference Centre, Kampala, 8–12 December 2002: p. 4.
6. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 136th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Wednesday, 19 November 1997 and 21 November 1997: p. 3.
 7. E. Beyaraza, 'Arts Never Vocationalized nor Commercialized but Professionalized and Generated Income', comment on Mahmood Mamdani, *Thinking through the Makerere Reform*, mimeo, Internal Makerere Workshop, 19 August 2005, Senate House, p. 5.
 8. E. Beyaraza, 'Arts Never Vocationalized nor Commercialized but Professionalized and Generated Income', p. 3.
 9. Interview, Dr Sengendo, Dean, Faculty of Arts, 23 July 2003.
 10. Institute of Advanced and Continuing Education.
 11. Such as the Postgraduate Diplomas in Anaesthesia and Computer Science in 1986, and those in the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine and the Institute of Computer Sciences in 1986. See, *Minutes of the 47th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on Tuesday and Wednesday, 7-8 January 1986, in the Council Room: p. 26.
 12. Two in Economics (an MA in economics 'in collaboration with EEC, and UNDP and the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development', and another in Economic Policy and Planning), and an MA in Women Studies (subsequently re-named MA in Gender Studies). *Minutes of the 61st Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 29 and 31 May 1991 in the Council Room: pp. 6, 8; Makerere University, Deans and Directors Consultative Forum, *Budgets for Financial Year, 2000–2001*, Friday, 8 December 2000: pp. 6, 8.
 13. *Minutes of the 77th Meeting of the University Council*, Held in Council Room, on 15 and 16 December 1997: pp. 39-40. Council increased the academic establishment of Mass Communication from six to twelve (with two new support staff) in 1992. *Minutes of the 64th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 25 June 1992 and 16 July, in the Council Room, Makerere University: p. 23.
 14. *Minutes of the 64th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 25 June 1992 and 16 July, in the Council Room, Makerere University: p. 23.
 15. Oswald Ndoleriire, 'Do Evening Students Get Adequate Interface with Lecturers?', mimeo, 13 February 2000: p. 2.
 16. *Minutes of the Continuation of the Special Meeting of the Senate*, Held in the Council Room, on 14 August, and Friday, 15 August 1997: p. 58.

17. *Minutes of the 121st Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Wednesday, 21 October 1994 in Lecture Room 1: p. 13.
18. *Minutes of the 126th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Wednesday, 15 November 1995, in Lecture Room 1 Faculty of Arts: p. 11.
19. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 126th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Wednesday, 15 November 1995, in Lecture Room 1 Faculty of Arts: p. 21. The Senate Humanities Committee recommended at its July 1995 meeting that 'the sub-Department of Mass Communication be allowed to start Evening Classes for the award of Bachelor of Mass Communication of Makerere University'. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Senate Humanities Committee*, Held in the Senior Common, Room on Tuesday, 4 July 1995: p. 5.
20. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 35th Faculty Examiner'Board*, held on Wednesday, 19th July 1995 in Lecture Room 1.
21. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 126th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Wednesday, 15 November 1995, in Lecture Room 1 Faculty of Arts: p. 17.
22. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 126th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Wednesday, 15 November 1995, in Lecture Room 1 Faculty of Arts: p. 6.
23. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 128th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Tuesday, 11 June 1996: p. 11.
24. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 128th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Tuesday, 11 June 1996: p. 13.
25. Faculty of Arts, Makerere University, *Report on the Faculty Workshop on Strategic Management held at Colline Hotel, Mukono*, 28-30 June 1996, pp. 2, 13-14, 18, 25-26, 27, 47.
26. Faculty of Arts, Makerere University, *Report on the Faculty Workshop on Strategic Management held at Colline Hotel, Mukono*, 28-30 June 1996, pp. 35, 43-45, 65.
27. Faculty of Arts, Makerere University, *Report on the Faculty Workshop on Strategic Management held at Colline Hotel, Mukono*, 28-30 June 1996, pp. 65-67, Appendix I.
28. Beyaraza, 'Arts Never Vocationalized nor Commercialized but Professionalized and Generated Income', p. 8.
29. Makerere University, *Minutes of the 68th Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Wednesday, 31 July 1996 in the Council Room: pp. 18-19.

30. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 133rd Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on 6 May 1997: pp. 4-5.
31. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 133rd Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on 6 May 1997: pp. 6, 7.
32. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 146th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Thursday, 22 July 1999: p. 5.
33. *Minutes of the 104th Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 4 December and 5 December 1995: p. 18.
34. *Minutes of the 74th Meeting of the University Council*, Held in the Council Room, on 16 and 17 December 1996: pp. 33-34.
35. *Minutes of the 106th Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room, on Wednesday, 14 May, 15 May and Tuesday, 20 May 1997: pp. 28-37.
36. *Minutes of the 106th Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room, on Wednesday, 14 May, 15 May and Tuesday, 20 May 1997: p. 27.
37. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the University Council*, Held in Council Room on 11 June 1997: pp. 20-26. Council approval was reported to Senate, again without comment, in December. Also see *Minutes of the 107th Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room, on Wednesday, 3 December 1997: pp. 11-13.
38. *Minutes of the 106th Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room, on Wednesday, 14 May, 15 May and Tuesday, 20 May 1997: pp. 28-32.
39. *Minutes of the 136th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Wednesday, 19 November 1997 and 21 November, 1997: p. 2; *Minutes of the 143rd Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on 8 January 1999: p. 10.
40. *Minutes of the 138th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Friday, 20 and Friday, 26 February 1998 and 5 March 1998: pp. 5-6.
41. *Minutes of the 133rd Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on 6 May 1997: p. 5.
42. *Minutes of the 136th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Wednesday, 19 November 1997 and 21 November 1997: p. 7.
43. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 142nd Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Monday, 12 October 1998 and continued on Thursday, 15 October 1998: p. 3.
44. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 152nd Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Wednesday, 9 August 2000, continued on 29 August 2000: p. 15.

45. Makerere University, (Senate Committees) University Admissions Board, *Minutes of the 47th Meeting of the Admissions Board*, Held on 10 June 1999, in the Senior Common Room, Makerere University: p. 12.
46. Faculty of Arts, *Briefing of the Vice-Chancellor by the Dean Faculty of Arts on Developments in the Faculty during the Special Faculty Board Meeting*, 4 December 2000: p. 6.
47. Interview, Mr Sebastian Ngobi, Acting Academic Registrar, 31 July 2003.
48. Interview, Dr Ddumba Ssentamu, Director, Institute of Economics, 25 July 2003.
49. Faculty of Arts, *Briefing of the Vice-Chancellor by the Dean Faculty of Arts on Developments in the Faculty during the Special Faculty Board Meeting*, 4 December 2000: p. 3.
50. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 155th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on 7 February 2001: p. 6.
51. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 152nd Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Wednesday, 9 August 2000, Continued on 29 August 2000: pp. 9-10.
52. Makerere University, Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 166th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Friday 19 July 2002: p. 3.
53. Memo from Acting Dean, Faculty of Arts, to Heads of Departments (nd.), p.4.
54. *Minutes of the 93rd Meeting of the University Council*, Held on March, 25 2003: pp. 11-12.
55. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 150th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Tuesday, 14 March 2000, Continued on 22 March 2000 and 29 March 2000: pp. 9-10.
56. School of Education, *Minutes of the Board of Studies Meeting*, Held at the School of Education, Room 4 on Monday, 16 and Tuesday, 24 October 2000: p. 2.
57. School of Education, *Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Board of School of Education*, in Room 4 on Tuesday, 15 May 2001: p. 2.
58. Enyaga Fulukas Boroa, *Memorandum of Understanding by Students of the School of Education with the Academic Registrar Concerning Academic Plight of the Students of the School of Education*, 30 March 2001: p. 3.
59. Interview, Dr Ddumba Ssentamu, Director, Institute of Economics, 25 July 2003.
60. *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee Investigating the Teaching of Religious Studies to the Bachelor of Arts (With Education) Students*, December, 2001: p.14.

61. *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee Investigating the Teaching of Religious Studies to the Bachelor of Arts (With Education) Students*, December, 2001: pp. 3, 4-5.
62. Senate ruled that 'no Department or Faculty/Institute/School should, on its own, teach and examine courses without the knowledge and approval of the parent unit for such Courses'. Makerere University, The Senate, 108th Meeting, *Minutes of the 108th Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room, on Wednesday, 8 April, Thursday, 9 April, Thursday, 16 April, Friday 17 April and on Wednesday, 29 April 1998: pp. 105-106.
63. The chain of events summarised from *A Report of the Ad Hoc Committee Investigating the Teaching of Religious Studies to the Bachelor of Arts (With Education) Students*, December, 2001: pp. 5-8.
64. Department of Literature, *Report of the Content Subject Committee*, 2 November 2000, p. 3. See also Meeting of Deans, Directors, Heads of Departments and Time-Table Coordinators of Arts, Education, Economics and Distance Education, held on Monday 11 March, *Minutes*, 2002: p. 2; Makerere University, Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 166th Faculty Board Meeting*, held on Friday 19 July 2002: p.3.
65. Department of Literature, *Report of the Content Subject Committee*, 2 November 2000: p.6, 4.
66. Department of Literature, *Report of the Content Subject Committee*, 2 November 2000: p. 4.
67. *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee Investigating the Teaching of Religious Studies to the Bachelor of Arts (With Education) Students*, December, 2001: p. 12.
68. *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee Investigating the Teaching of Religious Studies to the Bachelor of Arts (With Education) Students*, December, 2001: p. 10.
69. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 164th Heads/Finance Board Meeting*, Held on 12 September 2003: p. 6.
70. Department of Literature, *Report of the Content Subject Committee*, 2 November 2000: p. 8. There were complaints at the Arts Faculty Board about having to mark 'freely' in Education, resulting in 'a loss of income on our part'. See, AT38: 3: Faculty of Arts, *Minutes*.
71. Department of Literature, *Report of the Content Subject Committee*, 2 November 2000: pp. 6-7, 9, 10, 11.
72. *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee Investigating the Teaching of Religious Studies to the Bachelor of Arts (With Education) Students*, December, 2001: p. 15.

73. *Minutes of the Board Meeting for School of Education*, Held on the 24 July 2001: pp. 1-2.
74. The Senate, Academic Programmes and Library Committee, *Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Academic Programmes and Library Committee*, Held on 8 September 2003: pp. 3-4; The Senate, Academic Programmes and Library Committee, *Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Academic Programmes and Library Committee*, Held in Board Room 1, Senate Building, on Monday, 14 July 2003: pp. 12-13; The Senate, *Minutes of the 120th Meeting of the Senate*, Held in the Conference Hall, Senate Building, on Wednesday, 1 September 2004: pp. 35-6, for the full Senate meeting.
75. *Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Studies of the School of Education*, Held on Monday, 13 September 2004: pp. 3-4.
76. Senate Humanities Committee, *Minutes of the Continuation of the Special Meeting of the Senate Humanities Committee*, Held on Tuesday, 11 September 2001: pp. 9-10.
77. Senate Humanities Committee, *Minutes of the Continuation of the Special Meeting of the Senate, Humanities Committee*, Held on Tuesday, 11 September 2001: pp. 9-10.
78. School of Education, Board of Studies, *Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Studies*, Held on Tuesday, 2 December 2003: pp. 2-3.
79. Institute of Adult and Continuing Education, Department of Distance Education, *External Degree Materials Development and Production Position Paper*: pp. 5, 10-11. Though the paper has no date, I have estimated the date of its writing as sometime in 2001 because the paper speaks of summing up the ten year experience of the long distance learning programme which began in 1991.
80. Institute of Adult and Continuing Education, Department of Distance Education, *External Degree Materials Development and Production Position Paper*: p. 10.
81. Institute of Adult and Continuing Education, *Minutes of the 29th IACE Board of Studies Meeting*, Held on 25 March 1997 in the IACE: p. 3.
82. Institute of Adult and Continuing Education, *Minutes of the 32nd IACE Board of Studies Meeting*, Held on 24 July 1998 at IACE in the AVU: p. 12.
83. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Senate*, Held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 22 and Thursday, 23 October 1997: pp. 15-16.
84. *Activity Report from Distance Education Department*, 1998: pp. 2-3.

85. Institute of Adult and Continuing Education, Department of Distance Education, *External Degree Materials Development and Production Position Paper*: p. 5.
86. Institute of Adult and Continuing Education, Department of Distance Education, *External Degree Materials Development and Production Position Paper*: pp. 10-11.
87. Makerere University, *Agenda for the 65th Meeting of the Finance Committee*, to be Held on Friday, 30 June 1995: p. 21.
88. Makerere University, *Minutes of the 68th Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Wednesday, 31 July 1996 in the Council Room: p. 15.
89. Senate thus asked the two Deans, of Social Sciences and Education, 'to prepare a proposal on the setting up of an Institute of Psychology in the University for Senate to consider at the next regular meeting'. *Minutes of the 104th Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room, 4 December and 5 December: pp. 18-19.
90. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Senate*, Held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 22 and Thursday, 23 October 1997: pp. 66-70.
91. *Minutes of the Continuation of the Special Meeting of the Senate*, Held in the Council Room, on 9 November 1998: pp. 9-10.
92. *Minutes of the Continuation of the Special Meeting of the Senate*, Held in the Council Room, on 9 November 1998: pp. 9-10.
93. *Minutes of the 79th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 24 and 25 August 1998: pp. 33-35.
94. Faculty of Science Minutes. The Director of the Institute of Economics gave three reasons in defence of the move: that it allowed for an expansion of staff from 15 to 42, that it gave them financial autonomy which made for a greater retention of private student fees, and the cutting down of bureaucracy in dealing with the central administration. Interview, 25 July 2003.
95. *Minutes of the Meeting Between the Central Executive and Members of the Faculty of Social Sciences*, Held on 15 January 2001: p. 4.
96. *Minutes of the 77th Meeting of The University Council*, Held in Council Room, on 15 and 16 December 1997: p. 40.
97. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the Special Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Friday, 28 July 2000: p. 4.
98. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 106th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Friday, 24 November 2000: pp. 9-11.

99. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 108th Faculty Board and Heads of Department and Examination Coordinators Meeting*, Held on 21 and 28 November 2001: p. 2.
100. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 108th Faculty Board and Heads of Department and Examination Coordinators Meeting*, Held on 21st and 28th November 2001: Minute 1593.
101. Interview, Dr Edward Kiremira, Dean, Social Sciences, 31 July 2003.
102. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 108th Faculty Board and Heads of Department and Examination Coordinators Meeting*, Held on 21 and 28 November 2001: Minute 1593.
103. *Minutes of the 116th Meeting of the Faculty of Science Board of Studies*, Held on Tuesday, 7 December 1993: p. 5.
104. *Minutes of the 116th Meeting of the Faculty of Science Board of Studies*, Held on Tuesday, 7 December 1993: p. 9.
105. *Minutes of the 117th Meeting of the Faculty of Science Board of Studies*, Held on Tuesday, 3 May 1994: pp. 2-4.
106. Interview, Dr Vincent A. Ssembatya, Department of Mathematics, 15 July 2003.
107. Interview, Dr Baryamureeba, Director, Institute of Computer Science, 17 July 2003.
108. Interview, Mr Ben Byambazi, the Bursar, 2 August 2003; Interview, Dr Edward Kiremira, Dean, Social Sciences, 31 July 2003.
109. *Minutes of the 114th Meeting of the Faculty of Science Board of Studies*, Held on Tuesday, 16 March 1993 and Continued on Tuesday, 20 April 1993: pp. 4-5.
110. *Minutes of the 122nd Meeting of the Faculty of Science Board of Studies*, Held on 28 November 1995: p. 8.
111. *Minutes of the Special Faculty Board Meeting to Consider New Programmes*, Held on 2 April 1998: p. 5; Faculty of Science, *Continuation of the 132nd Meeting of the Faculty of Science Board That Sat on 7 June 1999*: pp. 3-4.
112. Faculty of Science, *Minutes of the 133rd Faculty of Board Meeting that was Held on 18 November 1999*: p. 10.
113. *Minutes of the 134th Faculty of Science Board Meeting that was Held on 6 June 2000*: p. 11.

114. *Minutes of the 117th Meeting of the Senate*, Held in the Conference Hall, Senate Building, on 22 January 2003: pp. 13-14.
115. The Senate Science Committee, *Minutes of the Twelfth Meeting of the Senate Science Committee*, held in the Council Room, on Thursday, 13 May 1999: pp. 5-6.
116. MIN1/SFB DEC/1998 *Minutes of the Special Faculty of Science Board Meeting that Sat on 31 December 1998*: p. 4.
117. See Senate Science Committee, *The Minutes of the 18th Meeting of the Senate Science Committee*, held on Thursday, 8 February 2001, 14 February 2001, 20 February 2001, 21 February 2001, 1 March 2001 in Board Room 2, Academic Registrar's Building: p. 15; *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Senate*, held in Council Room on Wednesday, 6 December 2000, and on Thursday, 7 December 2000: pp. 25-26. There was yet another route for the Faculty of Science to take. This route was suggested by the introduction of a B.Sc. in Ethno-Botany, introduced only as a private programme, for both Day and Evening students. Ethno-Botany was introduced at the initiative of the country's President. Professor Luboobi informed Council in February 1999, that 'the Faculty of Science was in the past not able to market its courses for private sponsorship, but they had started designing courses like Ethno-Botany which they hoped would provide the chance'. When the programme was mounted, it failed to attract sufficient numbers, and so wilted under market pressure: *Minutes of the Special Faculty Board Meeting to Consider New Programmes*, held on 2 April 1998: p. 4; *Minutes of the Eleventh Meeting of the Senate Science Committee*, held in the Council Room on 8 July 1998: p. 6. See also *Minutes of the 109th Meeting of Senate*, held at Makerere University Business School, Nakawa on Wednesday, 22 July 1998: p. 22.
118. MIN 5/123/FB/956, The 123rd Meeting of the Faculty of Science Board, held on 27 February: p. 8.
119. Makerere University, *Minutes of the 68th Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Wednesday, 31 July 1996 in the Council Room: p. 15.
120. Makerere University, *Minutes of the 68th Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Wednesday, 31 July 1996 in the Council Room: p. 15.
121. Faculty of Science, *Minutes of the 125th Meeting of the Faculty of Science Board of Studies*, Held on Tuesday, 11 February 1997: p. 1.

122. *Minutes of the 129th Faculty of Science Board Meeting That Sat on 28 May 1998*: p. 10.
123. School of Postgraduate Studies, *Minutes of the 32nd Meeting of the Board of Postgraduate Studies and Research*, Held in the Board Room, Faculty of Forestry and Nature Conservation, on 2 June 1999: p. 2.
124. *Proceedings of the One Day Workshop to Review the University Institutional Development Plan 2000/2001–2004/2005*: p. 3.
125. *Minutes of the 136th Faculty of Science Board Meeting that was held on 30 January 2001*: p. 7.
126. *Minutes of the 137th Faculty of Science Board Meeting*, held on Thursday, (no date) February 2002.
127. Faculty of Science, *Minutes of the Special Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Tuesday, 16 April and the Continuation of Session, Held on Friday, 19 April 2002: p. 5.
128. Faculty of Technology, *Minutes of the Special Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Thursday, 14 February 2003: pp. 4-5.
129. Faculty of Technology, *Minutes of the 114th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Thursday, 24 April 2003: pp. 7-8.
130. Faculty of Technology, *Minutes of the 104th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Friday, 27 June 2001: pp. 9-10.
131. Faculty of Technology, *Minutes of the 111th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Tuesday, 5 August 2002 and Continued on 15 August 2002: p. 9.
132. Faculty of Technology, *Minutes of the 111th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Tuesday, 5 August 2002 and Continued on 15 August 2002: p. 9.
133. Faculty of Technology, *Minutes of the 111th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Tuesday, 5 August 2002 and Continued on 15 August 2002: p. 9.
134. Makerere University, *Minutes of the Inauguration of the New Council and the 80th Meeting of the University Council*, held on 15 February 1999 in Council Room, Makerere University: p.11.
135. Interview, Dr Hannington Oryem-Origa, Dean, Faculty of Science, 4 July 2003.
136. Interview, Professor Opuda-Asibo, Director, School of Postgraduate Studies, 30 July 2003.
137. Makerere University, *Minutes of the Inauguration of the New Council and the 80th Meeting of the University Council*, held on 15 February 1999 in Council Room, Makerere University: p. 11.

138. Opuda-Asibo, J, 'Increasing Funding of Research by Government of Uganda and Makerere University', Paper Presented at the Retreat to Formulate Makerere University Strategic Framework for the Next Plan, 13-17 February 2000, at Colline Hotel Mukono, mimeo, pp. 2-3.
139. Opuda-Asibo, J, 'Increasing Funding of Research by Government of Uganda and Makerere University', A Paper Presented at the Retreat to Formulate Makerere University Strategic Framework for the Next Plan, 13-17 February 2000, at Colline Hotel Mukono, mimeo, p. 2.
140. School of Postgraduate Studies, *Minutes of the 32nd Meeting of the Board of Postgraduate Studies and Research*, held in the Board Room, Faculty of Forestry and Nature Conservation, on 2 June 1999: Annexure 32.6.2.
141. H. Oryem-Origa, 'Affirmative Action in Favour of Science-Based Faculties Which are not Coping with Income Generating', Paper Presented at the Retreat to Formulate Makerere University Strategic Framework for the Next Plan, 13-17 February 2000, at Colline Hotel Mukono, mimeo, pp.1, 3.
142. Interview, Dr Sentongo Kibalama, Associate Dean, Faculty of Agriculture, 7 July 2003.
143. Specifically, he informed Faculty representatives that 'during the workshop on NORAD's financial assistance to Makerere University', NORAD had agreed to consider increasing research support to Makerere. He said he hoped that research support would go up from five percent to 15 percent of NORAD assistance and 'requested the University to sell herself to NORAD in the best way possible by projecting quality research and teaching'. The Board noted that donors like DAAD (Germany) were 'more interested in Science based faculties'. Sida/SAREC, for example, signed a contract on 31 October 2000 to fund research worth \$1.5 million in four Faculties. Three of these (Agriculture, Medicine and Technology) were Science-based, whereas Sida/SAREC's interest in the Social Sciences was narrowly focussed on gender. When it came to establishing a Master of Science in Agriculture and Applied Economics degree in the Faculty of Agriculture, donor support came from the Rockefeller Foundation (\$2.5 million) and the World Bank-supported ACBF (\$2.2 million). Similarly, the new Department of Architecture in the Faculty of Technology was heavily donor-funded, mainly by Sida/SAREC, NUFU, the Italian Cooperation and Era-Terre EAG. By 2000, there were five Doctoral and three Masters candidates in the Department, and the NUFU programme was due to sponsor a further two Doctoral and four Masters candidates beginning May 2002. Of the 20 PhD students in the Faculty

of Technology, 18 were donor-funded (mainly by Sida/SAREC and NUFU) and two had private sponsors. See School of Postgraduate Studies, *Minutes of the 32nd Meeting of the Board of Postgraduate Studies and Research*, Held in the Board Room, Faculty of Forestry and Nature Conservation, on 2 June 1999: pp. 3, 12; School of Postgraduate Studies, *Minutes of the 38th Meeting of the Board of Postgraduate Studies and Research*, Held in the Conference Room, Faculty Agriculture, on 10 May 2000: p. 12; School of Postgraduate Studies, Minutes of the 40th Meeting of the Board of Postgraduate Studies and Research, Held on Wednesday, 1 November and Continued on Thursday, 2 and Wednesday, 15 November 2000: p. 4; School of Postgraduate Studies, *Minutes of the 5th Meeting of the Board of Graduate Studies*, Held on Tuesday, 10 May 2005: p. 14. One of the few broad research initiatives was supported by The African Institute for Capacity Development (AICAD), funded by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). It funded three categories of research: discipline-based, multi-disciplinary and graduate student research. See The Senate, *Minutes of the Continuation of the 118th Meeting of Senate*, Held on 27 August 2003: p. 5; Faculty of Technology, *Minutes of the 107th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Thursday, 6 December 2001: p. 11; Faculty of Technology, *Minutes of the 115th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Thursday, 5 June 2003: p. 11-12.

144. 'Research funding comes from donors and from university Staff Development Budget', according to the Dean of the Faculty of Science. Interview, Dr Hannington Oryem-Origa, 4 July 2003.
145. Interview, Professor Eli Katunguka-Rwakishaya, Dean, Veterinary Sciences, 18 July 2003.
146. Interview, Dr Vincent A. Ssembatya, Department of Mathematics, 15 July 2003.
147. Interview, Dr Nawangwa, Dean, Faculty of Technology, 27 July 2003.
148. Interview, Dr Sentongo Kibalama, Associate Dean, Agriculture, 7 July 2003.
149. Interview, Dr Kabogooza, Dean, Faculty of Forestry and Natural Conservation, 16 July 2003.
150. *Minutes of the 120th Meeting of the Senate*, Held in the Conference Hall, Senate Building, on Wednesday, 1 September 2004: p. 8.

Chapter Three

COMMERCIALISATION

There is a saying that ‘a disease that will kill a man starts as an appetite’. The appetite for increased allowances in this University is increasing at Rocket speed and we think the University officials should take heed ... Professional excellence has dropped in this University. There are no seminars, public addresses or debates yet we have full time professors in plenty. They are only seen in public when they are agitating for living wages.—Makerere Student Guild Memo to the Turyagyenda Committee.

I have made a distinction between privatisation and commercialisation. Privatisation was an external relationship between the market and the university, whereby the university opened up its gates to fee-paying students but did not change its curriculum to suit the demands of the market. Commercialisation, however, led to a deep-seated transformation, involving not only the external relation between the university and the market but also the internal process of knowledge production in the university and internal relations between different academic units. The university opened its gates to fee-paying private students, commercialised relations between teaching units and embarked on

changing its curriculum by introducing market-driven programmes. Whereas privatisation began at the professional Faculties, such as Law and Commerce and Technology, commercialisation was pioneered by the Faculty of Arts.

In this chapter, we shall be concerned with three key consequences of market-oriented reform: first, the development of a core of part-time and temporary staff in the new programmes; second, the turf wars the reforms unleashed between Faculties; and third, their cumulative and adverse impact on the quality of education in those Faculties where reform had gone the furthest.

When Senate, guided by the Vice Chancellor, passed eleven programmes at a go on 7 May 1997, it seemed to have responded as a captive audience, asking no questions either about the capacity, the competence or even the formal mandate of the Faculty to teach this array of vocational programmes. The questions not asked would reshape the University in the decade to come in ways so fundamental that future generations of students, professors, administrators and indeed, Ugandans, would be right to look back and wonder at how casually those sitting in Senate had shirked their professional and public responsibility. In the absence of a university-wide focus on these questions by Senate, there would be no university-wide policy to guide and shape the ensuing reform. The policy in place would be the result of a trial-and-error approach by individual units. This is how the Faculty of Arts came to lead the field; so long as its short-term responses to long-term dilemmas were seen to work, they not only set the course for others but also shaped the contours of the newly reformed university.

It will be helpful to contrast the traditional discipline-based university with the new type of university that was taking shape as a consequence of new vocational and market-driven programmes. The traditional university cohered around disciplinary Departments and inter-disciplinary Professional programmes. There was no

contradiction between the two, for each professional programme was anchored in a core discipline and at the same time benefited from 'service' courses in related disciplines. The new vocational programmes, in contrast, were ostensibly formulated as responses to the study of problems, not as the study of methods and disciplinary traditions. Even though they germinated in the womb of traditional disciplinary Departments, new programmes threw overboard the entire apparatus of discipline-based education and its accompaniment of 'service' courses. The difference was this: whereas 'service' courses were taught by academic staff from departments which had the disciplinary competence to hold them accountable for content, when the same courses were 'domesticated' the new home department usually lacked the necessary disciplinary competence either to exercise quality control or to guide its subsequent development.

When the Faculty of Arts decided, for tactical reasons, to withhold information from Senate about the lack of staff to teach new programmes, it most likely did not realise that it was about to set in motion a set of processes that would slowly but surely erode Makerere's traditional claim to be a 'centre of excellence'. To teach the approved courses, it looked for a short-term, local, and pragmatic solution. The Faculty's solution was to hire temporary, part-time staff whose appointment would be a strictly Faculty affair, of no direct concern to the University or to those of its Committees that made and confirmed appointments. Inside individual Faculties, the appointment of part-time staff was more often than not the prerogative of powerful Deans and Programme Coordinators who were less and less subject to review by Faculty Boards. Naturally, practice varied from Faculty to Faculty. But once these arrangements, meant to be temporary, turned into a regular practice, they had unintended outcomes: without the membership of a common discipline and guidance by senior staff, it was difficult either to

exercise quality control over the process of their appointment or over the content of the courses they taught. Instead, both staff and curricula were 'poached' from elsewhere in the pursuit of 'marketability'.

The shift from 'service' to 'domestic' courses had devastating consequences. Two are particularly noteworthy. The first concerned the recruitment of part-time staff to teach new courses; the second was the tension the new entrepreneurial system generated between sister Faculties as they vied to protect their disciplinary turf against encroachment by new vocational programmes.

Part-Time Lecturers

To introduce a new programme, the Faculty concerned needed to find the staff to teach it. Where the disciplinary competence lay with another Faculty, the traditional solution was to get that Faculty to offer a 'service' course or to open its courses to external students. But once Arts began to introduce programmes whose very core was outside its disciplinary competence, this solution was not easy to apply. The very financial reason that motivated it to take this step provided further impetus to look for the cheapest possible way to teach its students. Cost-cutting was the name of the new game. Programme coordinators soon discovered that the most cost-effective way was to move from an institutional to an individual arrangement, from getting a sister Faculty to offer a 'service' course to offering financial inducement to individual members of that Faculty to cross over and teach the course in the 'domesticating' Faculty.

Once this arrangement began, it led to a gradual but inevitable downward slide: the tendency was to recruit those most junior since they would be willing to accept the least remuneration and teach under the most difficult conditions. The arrangement also had a qualitative fallout. Since the courses were outside the disciplinary

domain of the 'domesticating' Faculty, the individual lecturers who offered it were without any disciplinary supervision; it was a matter of time before financial considerations overwhelmed quality considerations. The next step was to go outside the confines of the university to hire part-timers. As the practice spread, it split the teaching staff into two tiers: one full-time, with security of tenure, the other part-time and temporary.

This fact was candidly summed up by the Dean of Arts. In a memo dated 26 March 2004 and titled 'The genesis and rationale of the Private Programmes Scheme', the Dean first outlined the original rationale for introducing private programmes: 'Private Programme Schemes were introduced to generate income from tuition and other fees that would boost the 'financial position of Faculties'. This, in turn was aimed at providing a base for increasing staff salaries' and 'funding operational costs of faculties'. He noted that the entire arrangement was informal and extra-legal: 'Lecturers, administrators and support staff working on these private scheme programmes work well beyond the legally recognised normal working hours provided for under the Employment Act without claiming any over time hours'. He further noted that this informal arrangement replaced moon-lighting *outside* the university, a practice that had become customary with the drastic fall in University staff incomes in the 1980s, with sanctioned moon-lighting *at* the place of work: 'The philosophy behind working beyond the normal working hours is to earn some extra income for survival while remaining at the official place of work'. Legally, however, the Dean pointed out, private programmes had 'no staffing establishment'.¹

How did such an informal arrangement come to be in the first place? And why did it persist and grow over nearly a decade? The answer was simple: the university administration was willing to tolerate informal arrangements so long as private programmes remained a cost-free way of increasing revenue. The administration

put a ban on the additional recruitment of staff, but this formality did not do away with the fact that new programmes needed additional staff to be run. In response, the University shut its eyes to any informal arrangement devised by Faculty Deans, Boards and Programme Coordinators—provided it involved no additional cost to the Central Administration. Coming soon after the Senate and Council meetings that had ratified a whole set of new programmes with scant regard to the disciplinary competence of the Departments that were to house them, this was an extraordinary abdication of responsibility by the University.

To understand the context in which the hiring of part-time staff began, it is worth going to the deliberations of the Faculty Board of the School of Education on 15 February 1996. When informed that “the first group of students on the B.A. Education Evening Programme will report for lectures on 4th March 1996”—that is, in less than three weeks—the Board ‘expressed concern that there may be (a) shortage of teaching staff, resulting in overloading the few available’. This is how the Minutes sum up the discussion that followed: ‘It was clarified that the School is trying to start laying foundations to enable it to achieve the long-time desired independence. Hence the School has the mandate as “Manager” of the courses, to identify qualified persons outside its borders and employ them, the School may also hire space and equipment to facilitate its work’.² The discussion continued at the meeting on 28 October 1996 when the Board was ‘informed that the University has put an embargo on recruiting new staff members’. The Board endorsed the earlier decision to hire part-time external staff, and talked of the need to ‘give incentives to the existing staff members’ to teach additional courses.³

But the hiring of part-time staff would not have held for long had it just been an initiative of revenue-earning units. To be sustained for over a decade, it had to enjoy the active support of the top

leadership of the University and its policy-making organs. Some of the facts came to light with the change of the University's senior leadership in 2004. The new Vice Chancellor informed Senate that though 'the Appointments Board was the only body empowered by the Act to appoint or dismiss the staff of the University, including part-time Lecturers', the fact was that 'the previous Appointments Board had delegated the Vice Chancellor to appoint Part-time Lecturers'. And the Vice Chancellor, in turn, had acquiesced in part-time appointments being made by Deans, Directors and, indeed, programme coordinators.⁴

So it came to be that private professional programmes were run by part-time staff, either from within the Faculty, or from other Faculties in the University, or from outside the University. Even when the core staff appointed in the University's disciplinary Departments taught private courses, they were hired on contract. More often than not, the contract was with the programme coordinator. In most cases, the contract was just a verbal understanding between the programme coordinator and the lecturer in question. The entire apparatus that operated under the Appointments Board of the University and that had been carefully developed over the history of the University played no role in this appointment process. In this arrangement, then, the term 'part-time' referred to staff from outside the Faculty where the programme was housed, not to the staff in the Faculty which might also be hired to teach in the Programme on a part-time basis.

Probably the largest number of part-time staff was employed in the Faculty of Arts. I say probably because Faculty documents do not contain comprehensive figures. Nor were coordinators always willing to answer questions about the staff teaching their Programmes. One was left to piece together fragmentary evidence from different sources. The Faculty Board of Arts resolved at its meeting of 8 January 1999 to normalise part-time teaching by inviting

‘part-time lecturers to Faculty Board meetings as well as involving them in Faculty activities’.⁵ We can get an idea of the rapid increase in part-time staff by comparing the roll of attendance at two Faculty Board meetings. The meeting of 22 July 1999 recorded 128 members of academic staff; of these, 23 (18 percent) were part-timers. A year later, on 29 August 2000, the Board minutes record a total of 165 members; of these, 45 (27 percent) were part-timers.⁶ The Board was alarmed that a growing number of its core staff was officially still part-time even though ‘some staff members had served for 10 years without confirmation’.⁷ The Faculty Board decided to review its part-time staff in September 2000, and asked all Heads of Departments to prepare lists for this purpose.⁸ The Faculty distinguished ‘permanent staff’ (regular staff who might be teaching private courses on contract) from ‘part time staff within the Faculty’ from ‘part-time staff from outside the Faculty/University’.⁹ As of 2 August 2002, the Faculty list recorded 89 ‘external part-timers’ and ranked them as Professor and Associate Professor (2), Senior Lecturer (3), Lecturer (17), Assistant Lecturer (22), Teaching Assistant (42) and Instructor (3)¹⁰—supervised by 17 coordinators. Interestingly, the system of coordinators, which had begun with private programmes, had now spread to ‘government’ programmes, such as languages (German, Luganda, Lwo, French) and to the core Arts discipline of Music, Dance and Drama (MDD).¹¹

The growth in part-time staff was directly related to a decline in the level of formal training of teaching staff. We have three different sets of figures for part-time staff working in the Faculty of Arts, the first two for 2002, and the final for 2004. The first set concerns only ‘external’ part time staff and is compiled from interviews with different programme coordinators:

Table 9: External Part-Time Staff Hired by Department,
Faculty of Arts, 2001–2002¹²

Geography	30
History	5
M.D.D	2
Institute of Languages	30
Literature	3
Religious Studies	2
Mass Communication	13
Philosophy	1
Total	86

Source: Office of the Administrator Faculty of Arts

The second set of figures is more comprehensive, but not fully so, since it excludes the Department of Mass Communication and MDD. Otherwise, it includes all part-time staff, alongside Coordinators and full-time staff in all other Programmes, and bears the authority of a memo from the Dean of the Faculty:

Table 10: Staff Employed in Five Departments,
Faculty of Arts, September 2002

Department/Institute	Full-Staff	Part-Time Staff	Coordinators
Geography	17	52	3
History	15	40	2
Literature	10	3	1
Religious Studies	17	3	1
Languages	27	46	11
Total	86	144	18

Source: Faculty of Arts Memo of 16 September 2002 to Senate.¹³

The third set of figures make up the most comprehensive data available and comes from the Dean's submission to the 24 March 2004 Meeting of Deans and Directors of Income-Generating Units. According to that memo, 'about 90% of teaching staff on private programmes are Part-Timers', and 'about 40% of support staff are privately employed by the Faculty'.¹⁴ But even this is an underestimate since it excludes part-timers employed to teach Day courses.

The Faculty with the second largest number of part-time staff in its employ was probably Education. When I asked the Dean of the Institute of Education in July 2003 for an estimate of the staff they hired and paid for privately, either from other Faculties or from outside the University, his response was: 'more than 65'.¹⁵

When the Quality Assurance Committee of the Faculty of Arts held its second meeting on 6 June 2002, it agreed to categorise external part-time staff as follows:¹⁶

2 nd Class Lower Division Degree	Instructors
Below the Degree	Instructors
2 nd Class Upper plus PGDE	Teaching Assistants
Masters Degree	Assistant Lecturer
Masters Degree plus Diplomas	Assistant Lecturer
2 Masters Degrees	Lecturer
MA with 3 years of Teaching Experience	Lecturer
MA with about 7 years of Teaching Experience	Senior Lecturer
Ph.D	Lecturers
Ph.D with 3 years of Teaching	Senior Lecturer

If we go back to the list above, it is clear that most external part-time staff (47 percent) held no more than an undergraduate degree,

at that a second class degree or lower. This made a mockery of the March 1999 Mujaju Committee recommendations, formally adopted by Senate and Council, and therefore official University policy, requiring a PhD for all those appointed as Lecturers or above, an M.A. for all appointed as Assistant Lecturers, and an Upper Second Class Honours Degree for anyone appointed as a Teaching Assistant.¹⁷ It also made nonsense of the Council Resolution of 17th April 2000, which amended an earlier Resolution of 29th July 1966 (M. 2067), requiring that ‘Teaching Assistants (and equivalent grades of staff) shall be appointed for a contract period of two years initially, renewable twice. The cumulative contract period be up to six years only’.¹⁸

The result was that the implementation of the Mujaju Recommendations had two bizarre outcomes. On the one hand, they generalised criteria relevant to academic departments (that its permanent teaching staff with a research degree, a PhD) to professional schools.¹⁹ According to the Dean of the School of Medicine, this made research the primary criterion for appointments in professional schools: ‘In most countries, including the UK, a PhD is not a requirement for appointment of medical or clinically oriented people’.²⁰ On the other hand, when it came to academic departments as in the Arts Faculty, the provision was flouted so openly that it seemed to be honoured only in the breach. The most extreme example of this was the proposal by the human resource-starved Institute of Education that secondary school teachers—most of whom do not even have an M.A.—be recognised as examiners of B.A. Education students for the practical part of their work.²¹

At the outset, the trend was towards differentiating private from government programmes, and day from evening programmes, each with its own staff and trajectory of development. The assumption was that day-time courses with government-sponsored students would be taught by core staff but evening courses with private

students would be taught by part-time and temporary staff under the supervision of coordinators and assistant coordinators. According to their coordinators, Organisational Studies and Development Studies had no core staff in 2003–2004; the entire staff was part-time. Urban Planning was *mostly* run by part-time staff.

In time, though, even day-time programmes tended to turn to part-time staff to teach their growing pool of students. The Faculty Board of 31 July 2002 noted that ‘there are 10 part-timers in Languages teaching on government programmes’, and that the Institute ‘needs 17 part-timers for Runyakitara, Social Anthropology, Kiswahili, Communication Skills, Lwo’, even if ‘some of these subjects already have part-timers’.²² The Board of 10 August 2002 agreed to appoint five part-timers in Languages, eight in Mass Communication, five in MDD, and three in the Literature Day Programme.²³ Even though the presumption, and expectation, was that part-timers on government programmes (such as Languages and MDD) would be paid for by the University, the Faculty agreed to appoint and pay them awaiting the finalisation of a University package. The Sixth Meeting of the Faculty Quality Assurance Committee agreed that they would visit the Vice Chancellor to ask for the creation of a new category of staff: University Part-Timers.²⁴

We can draw three conclusions from the above discussion. The first is that the trend towards hiring part-timers was a response to the financial squeeze imposed on the University budget by the government. In that context, both the government and the University turned a blind eye as individual Faculties improvised short-term measures as pragmatic solutions to immediate problems they confronted. But as problems persisted, solutions proliferated. As the scope of private programmes grew, the short-term turned into a long-term, and temporary measures attained the dignity of normal practice, and spread from private to government programmes. Our second conclusion is that the trends we noted above have spread

from vocational to academic programmes and from the Evening to the Day University. Unlike at the outset of the reform when it was reasonable to equate day classes with government-sponsored students and evening classes with privately-sponsored students—and their counter-part, part-time lecturers—the trend was towards part-time lecturers driving not only Evening but also most Day courses. The cumulative impact of these developments was to blur distinctions between different kinds of programmes, whether government and private, or day and evening. Our final conclusion is that the cumulative outcome of these developments is the erosion of the public university called Makerere and the dramatic growth, at first alongside it but increasingly in its place, of a private University with the same name but with inter-disciplinary vocational programmes, fee-paying students, a predominantly part-time teaching staff and a permanent administrative staff hired as coordinators. Whether it is the appointment of teaching staff, the admission of students, the sourcing of income or its expenditure, each University is subject to a different set of rules.

Turf Wars

Vocationalisation so disregarded disciplinary boundaries that it inevitably went hand-in-hand with poaching. Poaching took two different forms: individual and institutional. If individual poaching involved one Faculty enticing a member of another Faculty to take on a temporary teaching contract in a private programme, institutional poaching involved a Department or a Faculty offering a programme outside its disciplinary competence. The tendency of Faculties like Arts was to justify the practice in the name of necessity or even just discovery (that it was the first to think of the programme concerned)—often called ‘innovations’—when they stood to benefit

from it, but to decry it as a violation of academic procedure and ethics when others resorted to the same practice at its expense.

Private vocational programmes were inter-disciplinary. Most comprised courses offered in more than one Faculty. The more relations between Faculties became commercialised, the more contentious became the issue of where an inter-disciplinary programme should be housed. For the right to house a programme translated into considerable financial advantage. The Faculty that was home to a programme would collect the fees of students who registered for the programme. It would then either 'poach' teachers from other Faculties through individual contracts or get these Faculties to offer 'service' courses. More likely, it would combine both practices. Whereas the 'poached' teachers would be paid a minimal amount, the Faculty offering a 'service' course had no guarantee as to how much, when and even whether it would be paid. When I asked the Bursar as to whether the University had a policy on 'service' courses, he described an impasse: 'We at the centre don't know how to cost service courses. We have left it to Faculties to decide. Some have tried, others have disagreed'. When asked how the centre expected buyers and sellers to come to bilateral agreements, he responded: 'We thought academicians would rise above these questions. Some meet and agree, but don't transfer. They say I should deduct money from the centre but others disagree on the amount to be deducted. The university has yet to come up with a policy. We need a policy. The result is that Faculties are teaching anything'.²⁵

The result was great tension between Faculties. The picture is clearest if seen from the vantage point of the Faculty of Arts, the hub of vocational programmes. Since the Faculty had pioneered many inter-disciplinary programmes, it was host to students from several Faculties whose disciplinary interest and competence was reflected in these programmes. For that same reason, the Faculty

was also host to several ‘service’ courses from these Faculties. These relations were reflected in the credit and debit side of the Faculty ledger. By September, 2002, the Faculty of Arts was owed the following sums by the three Faculties it ‘serviced’ the most:²⁶

School of Education	124,433,073 shs (for 2000-01 alone)
School of Library and Information Science	24,241,338 shs (up to 2001)
Faculty of Science	2,606,967 shs (up to 2001)
At the same time, it owed to the following Faculties:	
Faculty of Social Sciences	86,112,967 shs (up to 2001)
Institute of Economics	14,610,207 shs (up to 2001)

Turf wars between different units reached a high point in 2002. The matter was taken up by the Academic Registrar who asked each Faculty to submit a memo on ‘problems associated with housing of students in various academic programmes’ so that a Senate subcommittee ‘may determine housing of students whose programmes have courses offered in more than one Faculty’. The Faculty of Arts memo²⁷ makes it clear that more and more of the Faculty’s programmes had less and less to do with its core disciplinary competence—thus inducing a migration into the Faculty of students from the core discipline(s) around which the new programmes were structured. Let us take some examples of ‘professional’ programmes in the Faculty of Arts, and some of the core and elective courses in the programme taught by lecturers from outside the Faculty:

Course	Core/ Elective	Faculty/Insti- tute of Core Concern	Students
1. Bachelor of Tourism			
First Year			
Introductory Economics	core	MUIE	266
Botany for Tourism	core	Science	266
Zoology for Tourism	core	Science	266
Natural history of Flora	core	Science	266
Introduction to Accounting	core	MUBS	266
Second Year			
Development Concepts	elective	MUIE	173
Diet and Nutrition	elective	Agric	149
Third Year			
Tourism Economics	core	MUIE	275
2. Bachelor of Environmental Management			
First Year			
Introductory Economics	core	MUIE	121
Principles of Ecology	core	Science	342
Principles of Soil Science	core	Agric	342
Environment Chemistry	core	Science	342
Second Year			
Environmental Law & Policy	core	Law	272
Environmental Economics	core	MUIE	272

Course	Core/ Elective	Faculty/Insti- tute of Core Concern	Students
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Third Year

Quality Skills	core	MUBS	218
Forest Economics	Elective	Forestry	218

3. Bachelor of Urban Planning

First year

Introductory Economics	core	MUIE	169
Soil Science	core	Agric	169

Second Year

Planning Law	core	Law	149
Urban Design Theory & Techniques	core	Technology	211
Building Science	elective	Technology	68

Third Year

Basic Surveying	core	Technology	211
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4. Bachelor of Secr. Studies

First Year

Fundamentals of Accounting	core	MUBS	175
Information Organisation	core	BLISS	169
Social Psychology	core	Psychology	169

Course	Core/ Elective	Faculty/Insti- tute of Core Concern	Students
Second Year			
Gender Dimensions in Dev	Elective	Social Science	54
5. Bachelor of Development Studies			
First Year			
Introductory Economics	core	MUIE	339
Second Year			
Development Economics	core	MUIE	345
Intro to Computer Operations	elective	MISAE	290
Environment Impact	core	MUIENR	290
Assessment			

With this background, we are in a position to understand some of the outstanding turf battles involving the Faculty of Arts, either as the guilty or the injured party.

Development Studies [Arts vs. Social Sciences]: No sooner was the programme in Development Studies introduced in the Faculty of Arts than an acrimonious debate ensued between Arts and Social Sciences on who should be its rightful owner. Social Sciences argued on disciplinary grounds. It asserted that most courses that went into making Development Studies were Social Science courses and would in any case need to be taught by lecturers based in the social sciences. The Social Sciences Faculty Board met on 4 May 2001 to respond to a decision by the Senate Harmonisation Committee that Development Studies be housed in the Department of History in

the Faculty of Arts for two years, starting 2002–2003, and that an independent, inter-disciplinary Institute be established thereafter to teach both the undergraduate and graduate programmes in Development Studies. In its defence, the Faculty cited the mandate of the Faculty and the fact that ‘the Faculty of Social Sciences staff teach the majority of courses on the current Bachelor’s course that is situated in the Faculty of Arts’, and that ‘the masters course proposed by the Faculty of Arts is similarly to be run by outsiders, the majority of them are from the Social Sciences’. The memo concluded that ‘this is a Social Science course run by Arts for financial purposes’. The Faculty further claimed that the Harmonisation Committee had a political agenda: that its meeting was held at short notice and even then some members were not invited; as a result, the decision was taken without effective representation from the Faculty of Social Sciences. The University, it said, had to choose between two principles: professionalism versus commercialised higher education. The Faculty Board then resolved ‘that all staff from Social Sciences teaching on the B.A. (Development Studies) programme should stop doing so with immediate effect until the housing issue is resolved’.²⁸ It was a decision that proved easier to take than to implement, for the very reason that the Faculty of Social Sciences was not immune from the same commercial winds of change its Board had painstakingly discerned at that meeting. The plain fact was that the Faculty had no way of disciplining individual members who decided to moonlight in the Faculty of Arts.

Arts responded with an array of arguments, but two in the main: that Development Studies was an inter-disciplinary programme and had no natural home and that therefore the right of housing it was akin to a right of discovery, and thus belonged to the Faculty which had introduced it. The Vice Chancellor attended a special meeting of the Faculty Board of Arts on 4 December 2000, noting that this

‘was an era of interdisciplinary programmes and encouraged the Faculty to continue to innovate and assured them that the problem of Faculty of Social Sciences wanting to take over the above mentioned programme would be solved’.²⁹

The conflict festered like an open sore. As late as June 2005, the Academic Programmes and Library Committee of Senate noted that the Bachelor of Development Studies ‘has a number of courses similar to those in Social Sciences’, and probably for that reason ‘consultation between the Faculties of Arts and Social Sciences over the programme had stalled’.³⁰ The only solution it could foresee was for the course to be housed in an Institute that would be part of the new Constituent College.

Environmental Management [Arts vs. Science]: Senate set up an ad hoc committee to look into the proposal from the Makerere University Institute of Environment and Natural Resources (MUIENR) that it offer an undergraduate degree in Bachelor of Environmental Science. On the face of it, MUIENR had a strong claim to the offer since its mandate was ‘to promote the development of knowledge, skills and positive attitudes for sustainable management of environment and natural resources through training and research’, and because it was already running a Masters programme in Environment. When the Senate Science Committee recommended in February 2001 that the Institute be upgraded to a fully autonomous Unit, it noted ‘that since environmental studies do not belong to any traditional academic discipline, the autonomous Institute will have the freedom and the flexibility to develop its curricula to cater for people of all academic backgrounds’.³¹ Here was a text-book case for building an inter-disciplinary home for an inter-disciplinary programme.

There was a problem, though. The Department of Geography was already running a Bachelor of Arts in Environmental Management and the Senate Ad Hoc Committee was convened to ‘harmo-

nise' the two. The subcommittee observed three main differences between the two programmes: that the Arts programme targeted mainly Arts A level students, but the MUIENR programme would target mainly Science A level graduates; that the MUIENR undergraduate programme would feed into its Masters programme, whereas the Geography Department had no Masters programme in Environment; and that the B.A. of Environmental Science 'has a field component which is missing in the B.A. Environmental Management'.³² The Ad Hoc Committee recommended that the two courses run concurrently. There was no evaluation of the experience of the Geography Department in running an undergraduate programme in Environment, no reference to the fact that it was run mainly with part-time lecturers, no discussion of why it had no research component or a postgraduate programme, or of why students had been faring poorly in the programme. Indeed, the last observation was the subject of discussion at the 13 March 2002, Arts Faculty Board which noted that the examination for Environmental Management 105 (*The Earth's Physical Environment*) 'was poorly done by almost all students', and recommended that 'the Admissions Office should consider admitting science-based students or at least those who will have done geography at advanced level'.³³ Surely this was a veiled admission that the core content of the course was science-based. Neither had Senate bothered to refer to principles that had previously governed its resolution of similar disputes. As we have already seen in the case of Development Studies, the Senate Harmonisation Committee had already resolved that the interdisciplinary nature of the course called for the establishment of an autonomous and inter-disciplinary Institute to teach courses at both undergraduate and graduate levels. That such an Institute already existed for the study of the Environment surely should have been a matter of some relevance in deciding where to house a programme on the same subject.

Urban and Regional Planning [Arts vs. Technology]: Among the new programmes established by the Department of Geography was one in Urban Planning. On 7 February 2001, the Department submitted a memo to the Faculty Board proposing that the Programme in Urban Planning be expanded to become a Programme in Urban and Regional Planning. The memo included a detailed syllabus, and a list of staff that would 'handle the programme'. This list of 29 included a core staff of seven in the Department and a supplementary staff of 22 from elsewhere in the University and outside³⁴—presumably an admission that the Department lacked the necessary staff to launch the programme with its own human resources. The irony is that the same Senate which had approved that the Faculty of Arts mount the original programme in Urban Planning in 1997 and later approved the expanded version of the programme in Urban and Regional Planning, had earlier, in March 1993, approved a proposal to establish a Department of Urban and Regional Planning in the Faculty of Technology. The establishment of the Department had been proposed by the Faculty of Technology in collaboration with the Ministry of Land, Housing and Urban Development and the German Technical Assistance Agency, GTZ. At the same time, Senate had also approved the teaching of an M.A. programme in Physical Planning in this Department.³⁵ Was it a sign of desperation that no one attending this single Senate session which led to the large-scale introduction of programmes asked why the Faculty of Arts was being called upon to launch a programme in a subject on which the Faculty of Technology already had a Department and a postgraduate programme, or was it a simple reflection of power relations in the post-strike Makerere administration? Whatever the case, even six years later when I interviewed him, the Dean of Technology was livid:³⁶

The Faculty of Arts teaches Urban Planning, but Physical Planning is with architecture or engineering. The Department of Geography wrote a proposal and put it through Senate when I was away. They are doing it very unprofessionally. Planning has a lot to do with drawing and engineering. They take 300 students, unheard of, whereas we take 25 students in architecture. They come in and hire my junior staff to teach there. One person teaches 100! They teach courses that should be in science, like environmental management. We have a course in Physical Planning here. We have a postgrad Diploma in Urban Design here. We are part of the Uganda Society of Architecture. Apart from external examiners, we are part of an external review and accreditation process. In addition, the Commonwealth Association of Architects oversees and accredits us every four years. There is no accreditation in Arts, just a commercial enterprise.

Secretarial Studies [Arts vs. MUBS]: When Arts applied to Senate for authority to offer a B.A. in Secretarial Studies, to be housed in the Institute of Languages, there was objection from Makerere University Business School. The Acting Director of the Business School expressed concern 'as to whether the Faculty of Arts was the most suitable Unit to house the proposed Bachelor of Secretarial Studies in Makerere University when there was a Business School which was already offering courses in Secretarial Studies'. Instead of taking time to deliberate over and resolve an issue that involved questions of academic competence and jurisdiction, Senate resolved to approve the programme in principle 'and requested the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and the Director of Makerere University Business School to meet and agree on where the new degree programme should be housed as well as how the programme should be run'.³⁷ At a subsequent meeting, Senate noted that 'the Dean of the Faculty of

Arts and the Acting Director of the Business School had met and agreed that the proposed Bachelor of Secretarial Studies degree programme be housed in the Faculty of Arts'.³⁸ But when the acrimonious conflict between MUBS and Makerere developed a few years later, and Council intervened and invited the Acting Director of MUBS to give his side of the story, he complained that MUBS had 'wanted to start a BA degree in Office Management and Information, but Senate refused although Senate allowed the Faculty of Arts to start a Secretarial degree!' Similarly, he complained, that 'the Faculty of Arts introduced a degree in Tourism and Leisure Management which should have been introduced by MUBS'.³⁹

I was not able to interview the head of MUBS, but as second best, talked to the Director of the Institute of Economics. I asked him whether the University was turning into a vocational community college. His response was succinct and forceful:⁴⁰

The Faculty of Arts has really mounted a survival strategy: Secretarial Studies should be in MUBS; Environment should be elsewhere; Development Studies too. If they need to teach some Economics, they just come here and hire someone. There is no planning. The Academic Registrar's Department is too weak. If there is money, they claim they are innovating. They have lost track. Because there is money, you look for lecturers outside the university, even pick [poach] someone from Economics. The economist runs the programme. There is no external examiner, no internal overview, since there is no expertise there. The course is designed and passed by Senate. It all depends on who is in the Chair. There is too much politics.

Postgraduate Programmes: It was only a matter of time before the turf wars extended from undergraduate to postgraduate programmes. Once 'innovation' in the Faculty of Arts moved into postgraduate Diplomas and Degrees, further conflicts became inevitable. Here, I

will only mention a few of the ‘innovations’ that encroached on turf belonging to sister Faculties. There was the M.A. in Ethics and Public Management, housed in the Department of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts.⁴¹ The proposal, presented to Senate in 1999, listed a number of academic staff from the Social Sciences as belonging to the Department. On the positive side, this was a genuinely inter-disciplinary programme which would have been best taught through the cooperative effort of a number of Departments. Then there was the M.A. in Human Rights, also in the Department of Philosophy.⁴² Its teaching staff, too, came from mainly outside the department, such as Political Science and Law. The proposal for the M.A. in Peace and Conflict Studies, housed in the Department of Religious Studies since October 2002, clearly showed that 15 of the 22 teaching the programme would be from outside the Department.⁴³ A full-time member of the Department of Literature in the Arts Faculty lamented the ‘professionalisation’ of postgraduate studies in the Faculty:⁴⁴

The M.A. courses are all professionalised. Everything is something in management or development. There is no place for a critique. Even Philosophy courses are mostly on ... management! Teachers come from Commerce, from the Medical School, from anywhere.

In time, other Faculties too were compelled to ‘innovate’, if only to survive. The Faculty of Law, for example, mounted an M.A. in Refugee Law and Forced Migration in May 2000. The Faculty Board noted that the Law content was minimal but the Dean explained this was an inter-disciplinary course meant to be taught to more than just Law students.⁴⁵ The Board of Postgraduate Studies thought ‘the title was not appealing’ but it persisted since ‘the donors insisted on it’. Even then, ‘the programme presentation was similar to the programmes in the I.S.A.E.’⁴⁶

Departmental Conflicts within the Arts Faculty: Each of the components in the Faculty of Arts was conscious of their birth legacy: the Faculty had ‘innovated’ successfully since 1996, and it had done so with little regard for disciplinary boundaries defining areas of competence within the academy. This fact came to the fore when the Faculty began to discuss the possibility of becoming a Constituent College in 2002. As each of the Departments within the Faculty began to think of how it might expand within a Constituent College, most showed extraordinary sensitivity about defending their patch of academic turf. The proposed Department of Mass Communication ‘was very offended by the removal of the word “communication” from the proposed Department of Journalism and Media Studies’, its new nomenclature. At the same time, the Institute of Languages proposed to house a Department of Communication Studies.⁴⁷ In response, the Department of Mass Communication insisted that ‘it was a communication discipline’⁴⁸ and should comprise three separate Departments: Journalism and Media Studies, Support Communication, and Public Relations and Advertising. The Department of Geography, which had pioneered a variety of vocational programmes in areas where it had a dubious claim to competence, now proposed to become a School of Geography with several Departments: besides Human Geography, there were to be separate Departments of Tourism and Leisure Management, Meteorology and Water Resource Management, Urban and Regional Planning, and Physical Geography and Environmental Sciences. When the proposed Institute of Development Studies suggested it house a Department of Rural Development, the Faculty Board cautioned—no doubt at the insistence of the proposed School of Geography—that it should not offer courses given by the Department of Urban and Regional Planning.⁴⁹ So the Institute of Development Studies acquiesced in not teaching rural development in a country where the majority of the population was rural.

As the Faculty of Arts moved from being a beneficiary to being an injured party in its relations with sister Faculties, it came to see, and sometimes to share, the point of view of other aggrieved parties, one that it had previously tended to dismiss as a conservative remnant of the old order. Take the example of the Director of the Institute of Languages, a major employer of part-time staff, writing to the Dean of Law about two of his staff who had taken to moonlighting outside the Faculty. Referring to 'Dr Jack Smith and Mr David Musoke from the Department of Mass Communication' who 'had independently approached your Faculty and applied to teach your students a specialised Public Speaking and Argumentative Course', the Director regretted that 'the two gentlemen were allowed to teach the course'. He then suggested an alternative institutional arrangement in place of the poaching of individual members of his Institute, 'proposing that the Institute be authorised to introduce this course among your first-year students'.⁵⁰

In March 2004, the Faculty Board of Arts noted the adverse consequences of hiring part-timers from outside. Reflecting on 'problems with getting examination results from teaching staff in other academic units, who teach courses in our programmes in Faculty of Arts, especially in Mass Communication', the Board wondered whether the problem stemmed from the fact that 'the contract to teach is made between the respective department and the lecturers belonging to other academic units, without involving Heads of Departments and Deans of such academic units'. It then suggested that henceforth contracts should be made through Deans, Directors, and heads of academic units 'which house courses that are taught on our programmes' and that 'this will enhance accountability for the running of the course units and the quick submission of results'.⁵¹

A similar suggestion had come from the Arts subcommittee which had been asked to look into the dispute with the School of Educa-

tion over the teaching of Religious Studies courses by allegedly unqualified staff from Education. The Committee recommended 'that requests for lecturers from a particular academic discipline to teach in another Department should not be on a personal basis but that they should be channelled through the Head of Department who shall ensure fair allocation in a staff meeting'.⁵² If the changing, and sometimes schizophrenic, view of the Faculty was testimony to a learning process, it was also testimony that the learning process had just begun.

Postgraduate Studies

Postgraduate studies were not exempt from these developments. Rather, they were the first to suffer from diminished government support for higher education. In 1993, both the University and Government suspended research funding.⁵³ The following year, 1994, Government scrapped scholarships for graduate studies.⁵⁴ Two years later, in December 1996, the Vice Chancellor informed Senate that 'the University had received a circular from the Head of the Civil Service clarifying that sponsorship for long term training leading to award of higher qualifications, such as a degree or diploma, at local training institutions had been decentralised to individual Ministries'.⁵⁵ In other words, government had retreated to the notion that its interest in postgraduate education would be limited to fulfilling its manpower needs, and that these needs would be assessed by individual Ministries and would be paid for from their individual votes, the point being that postgraduate education was no longer a central government concern. The Senate recommended, and Council approved, that 'all postgraduate students admitted to the University prior to 1996-97 academic year ... will have to find their own sponsorship' after September 1997.⁵⁶

The main effect was to change the nature of the postgraduate programme in the revenue-earning, non-science Faculties.⁵⁷ The withdrawal of the state from funding graduate education left only two alternatives to Faculties and Departments which wanted to initiate postgraduate programmes: either to turn to donor support to continue with research-based postgraduate programmes, or to launch course work-based postgraduate degrees that required no research and could be funded on the basis of tuition from private fee-paying students. The general trend was for science-based Faculties and politically strategic units like Gender Studies to turn to donors for funding to continue with research-based postgraduate work. In contrast, most non-science Faculties innovated with non-research Masters programmes which they called Plan B.

At its April 2001 meeting, Senate approved the restructuring of the M.A. in Economic Policy Management (funded by African Capacity Building Fund, Japan Joint World Bank Graduate Scholarship Programme and Makerere) and the M.A. in Economic Policy and Planning (a donor-funded project which ended in 1996) into separate Plan A and Plan B degrees. The difference between the two was clearly spelt out in the Senate minutes:⁵⁸

- (i) Plan A of the degree programme shall consist of the Coursework and the Dissertation while Plan B of the programme shall have the Coursework and the Research Project.
- (ii) Plan A of the programme should be for the students who would be interested in pursuing rigorous academic and research careers while Plan B would be for the students who would be interested in achieving professional training.
- (iii) While the students who would offer Plan A of the programme would qualify for degrees which would enable them to pursue doctoral degree programmes later on, the students who offered Plan B of the programme would qualify with terminal degrees.

The same meeting of Senate approved the differentiation of the Master of Business Administration programme into plans A and B.⁵⁹ Although Plan A (requiring a dissertation) was said to be designed for academic programmes and Plan B for professional programmes, the tendency was to have both Plan A and Plan B postgraduate programmes inside academic departments. Thus the Department of Mathematics developed two postgraduate degrees: the Master of Science in Mathematics was research-based, but the Master of Mathematics was purely course work-based.⁶⁰ When I asked the Director of the School of Postgraduate Studies what he thought of the tendency to design postgraduate programmes without a research component, he pointed the finger at the market:⁶¹ 'It is a public demand, what the market demands. There are people who just want a little more knowledge and some investigative capacity'. His point is worrying: given the nature of market demand, there is unlikely to be any research-based education at Makerere if the future of postgraduate education is left to market forces.

The tendency to water down the content of programmes persisted. As the Academic Programmes and Library Committee of Senate noted at its meeting on 8 June 2004, 'there is a tendency for some Academic Units to teach the same content for both Diploma and Degree programmes'.⁶² Also, following the increase of student numbers, research was more likely than not to be the first casualty as, for example, when the Research Paper in LLB III in the Faculty of Law, hitherto a requirement, was made optional in 2001 in spite of student protest.⁶³

The Question of Quality

Anyone who reads through the record of Senate meetings during the period of reform is struck by the difference in the seriousness of treatment given different issues. Senate, for example, gave practically no time to discussing the thrust of reform—that is,

commercialisation and vocationalisation—but had plenty time to discuss its consequence, such as poor performance. Could the silence about commercialisation and vocationalisation be an admission that the academic leadership of the University had really failed to come up with any meaningful and realistic alternatives, so that the direction of the reform had a ring of the inevitable about it? At the same time, was not the obsessive discussion around poor performance the clearest indication that many in that same academic leadership remained committed to the question of academic excellence, even in the face of the inevitable, i.e., pervasive commercialisation?

In retrospect, one is struck by the fact that Senate began inquiries into poor student performance soon after the dramatic entry of private students in the Faculty of Arts in 1996–1997. Early investigations focussed on performance in particular courses, the assumption being that the problem was localised. I will give two examples of this kind of investigation. The first was an investigation into poor performance in EDPS (Education Psychology) and Maths (Mathematics).⁶⁴ The Report went through a long list of causes, but without making any attempt to distinguish main from secondary causes. Written in the form of interview notes, the Report does allow the reader to identify those concerns that get mentioned time and again as causes. Three in particular stand out: *the lack of space* ('too large classes ... Students do not have adequate room for lectures and no room for tutorials'; 'One member called the teaching facilities here slums. No wonder even students cannot stand the discomfort of attending lectures'; 'Too many students without increased teaching space'); *the lack of staff interest* ('They are overworked, underpaid and are frustrated'; 'Lecturers have other jobs outside campus in secondary schools and private companies and other parastatals because of poor remuneration, lack of housing and transport'; 'Some lecturers come looking tired and as they have been lecturing the whole day, here and elsewhere'; Many times

they are not in a good mood'; 'Dictate a lot of notes without explanations'; 'Students felt harassed to use prepared lecture notes by one lecturer who only gives them outlines';) and *the lack of student interest* ('absenteeism from lectures by students'; 'many students do not bother to take notes'; 'students who are not serious at their studies'; 'students are lazy and want minimal knowledge'; 'students are not cooperative with lecturers'; 'Student absenteeism seems to reflect on overcrowding of lecture rooms, and teaching from prepared notes which are on sale by the same staff members of Education Psychology'). The Committee made several recommendations. Not surprisingly, the first two were: 'recruit more staff' and 'provide more space'.

The second report came from a Senate Ad Hoc Committee looking into poor performance in three subjects: Fundamental Accounting Principles (Arts), Histology, and Embryology (Pediatrics—Medicine).⁶⁵ The general discussion that followed noted three specific shortcomings: (a) 'That academic establishment was bottom-heavy with most of the staff occupying junior lectureship positions'; (b) that 'academic staff had a negative view of their students'; and (c) that 'there were too many students for the resources available'. At least two of these—a bottom-heavy academic staff and too many students for available resources—got worse as the years passed and the reform took hold of more and more Faculties. Yet, their discussion became rare; worse still, even when mentioned, these facts increasingly got discussed as part of a reality many were beginning to accept as normal rather than outrageous. For example, a 1999 meeting of Senate noted the obvious, 'that the number of students enrolled into the University had greatly increased and that this had made the teaching, marking and administrative processes quite difficult'. Having noted this, the meeting proceeded with business-as-usual.⁶⁶ The use of matter-of-fact language in discussing these outcomes made for a way of describing exceptional

developments as if they were routine, and suggests their rapid normalisation in the consciousness of the Makerere community.

The new normalcy at Makerere was defined by a series of connected developments—more and more students packed into restricted space; an administration either oblivious to the new realities or helpless in its face or both, in either case guided by no more than a nominal responsibility to evening students; a dramatic increase in fee-paying private students who felt so privileged to have been allowed within the university gates that they seemed willing to put up with rapidly declining conditions of work, including the inevitability of failing and repeating at least some of their courses; a ban on hiring new staff alongside a dramatic increase in part-time staff in the revenue-earning Faculties, leading to the growth of an increasingly unresponsive and irresponsible teaching culture; and finally, the emergence of a dull and deadening student culture in the revenue-earning Faculties, one that revolved around note-taking and note-swapping. We shall look at each of these factors in turn.

The Space Problem

The space problem developed acutely in the revenue-earning Faculties.⁶⁷ Pressure of student numbers mounted against the reality of facilities which were not only stagnant but also rapidly deteriorating. The Faculties affected responded with a set of ad hoc measures. When it came to facilities which could be privatised, such as toilets, the usual response of Faculties was to put the better functioning toilets under lock and key, and restrict their use to the academic staff, while letting students fend for themselves.⁶⁸ The Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, for example, tried to solve the problem of limited office space by requesting the Central Administration to provide it with two containers to be used as temporary office space.⁶⁹ When it came to teaching space, however,

privatisation was no solution. The Faculty of Social Sciences introduced seven a.m. and lunch-time lectures, and asking student residences to expand lunch service beyond the customary lunch hour.⁷⁰ But this type of adjustment was necessarily limited by the length of the working day. As enrolment increased and courses bulged at the seams, the Central Administration took to looking the other way, leaving the problem to teaching units who in turn left it to students to come up with appropriate survival strategies. As the problem got worse, the Central Administration even came up with solutions that turned indifference into a virtue and offered it as a solution: decentralisation. We shall later look at the debate on decentralisation to see how each side tended to resort to it as a mantra which more often than not had the virtue of throwing responsibility for the most intractable problems on those least able to shoulder it.

In the face of a growing space problem, students devised a range of survival strategies. These varied from coming early and ‘reserving’ a seat, to standing at the door or on the periphery of the lecture room with the hope of catching as much of the lecture as possible, to alternating attendance with a friend, and finally, to demanding that lecturers distribute lecture notes for photocopying by those not able to attend. But as programmes multiplied and courses proliferated, teaching units had no option but to look for extra space. And the only way to do so was to hire space. There thus developed a division of labour whereby revenue-earning Faculties hired in space and those not earning revenue—meaning those without evening classes—rented out space.

Sometimes, the same Faculty that suffered from a shortage of space could be found renting out some of its own space. For example, the Faculty of Education minutes record ‘lack of teaching space’ from at least October, 2000.⁷¹ But two years later, the Faculty Board received and approved a proposal from its Finance Committee for

rent to be charged, not only for the canteen (100,000 shs per month), and space for photocopiers and computers used by a private Secretarial Bureau (300,000 shs per month) but also for the hire of rooms, from the Conference Hall (100,000 shs per month outsider; 70,000 per month MESA) to the Lecture Theatre and Other Rooms (20,000 per month outsider; 15,000 per month MESA).⁷² The Board of Studies agreed in October 2004 that, given the acute shortage of space, it made sense for the School to 'also explore the possibility of hiring space outside the University'.⁷³

The Committee of Deans noted as early as December 1998 not only that 'the rates charged for the use of space varied widely', but also that the practice of charging rent for space had spread from Evening to Day Programmes.⁷⁴ In 2000, the Deans/Directors Forum asked the Associate Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences to do 'a survey on hire of teaching space at Makerere University'. Dr Rwabukwali's report showed that space was hired mainly by Humanities-based Faculties (Arts, Social Sciences, Adult and Continuing Education, Curriculum Development, and Women and Gender Studies) from Science-based Faculties (Science, Agriculture, Veterinary Medicine, Chemistry, Maths), as well as from Halls of Student Residence and the Church-run St. Augustine Centre, at varying charges. I have summed up the situation described by Dr Rwabukwali in Table 11.

The Rwabukwali Report focussed mainly on the Faculty of Social Sciences. For information on other Faculties, one can turn to the March 2004 report of Deans/Directors of revenue-earning units to Senate. I have put together figures from the reports of different Faculties and Institutes to compile the following table 12, which shows that the units that hired out space fell into five categories: Science-based Faculties, non-teaching units in the Social Sciences, Halls of Residence, the Central Administration, and campus-based Religious Institutions.

Table 11: Hire of Space at Makerere University by Faculty, Rate, September 2002

Proprietor/Venue Hired	Hiring Units, Amount Paid per Month/Day (in Shillings)				
	Social	ISAE	IACE	Arts	Education
Faculty of Science					
JICA	500,000 (per month)				
Biology Lab	200,000 (per month)				
Faculty of Agriculture					
Lecture Theatre	600,000 (per month)				
Faculty of Veterinary Medicine					
Lecture Hall	60,000 (per month)		60,000 (per month)	60,000 (per month)	
Mathematics Department					
Lecture Room			100,000 (per month)		
Halls of Residence					
Men	50,000 (per day)		50,000 (per day)	50,000 (per day)	
Mary Stuart	15,000				15,000 (per hour)
Senate House (Administration)					
Large Lecture Room	10,000 (per day)				
Small Lecture Room	5,000 (per day)				
Department of Chemistry					
Small Lecture Room	30,000 (per day)				
Organic Lab	35,000 (per day)				

Source: Charles B. Rwabukwali, 'Rationalisation of hire of Teaching Space at Makerere University', A Report to the Deans/Directors Forum, September 2002.

Table 12: Hire of Space in the University by Rent-Paying and Receiving Unit,
First Term, 2003–2004 (in '000)

Payers of Rent	Faculty of Arts	School of Education ⁷⁵	Faculty of Social Sciences	Computer Science	Institute of Eco- nomics
<i>Receivers of Rent</i>					
<i>Science-Based</i>					
Faculty of Veterinary Medicine	12.8		4.68		
Faculty of Technology	20.13				
Faculty of Forestry	4.5				
Depart. of Chemistry		0.275	0.225		2.62
Physics Side Room				0.6	
Physics Lecture Theatre				0.3	
Faculty of Science Lecture Theatre				0.8	
Faculty of Agriculture			6.4		
Faculty of Science			4.0		
<i>Humanities</i>					
MISR		6.624			
Central Administration					
Academic Registrar	7.0		12.195	2.38	
<i>Halls of Residence</i>					
Mary Stuart	4.0	2.0			
Lumumba		3.5			
Nsibirwa		2.5			
University Hall		1.41			
<i>Religious Institution</i>					
St. Augustine Chapel	17.59		0.195	1.92	
Total	66.02	16.309	27.695	4.4	6.92

The Rwabukwali Report explored several options: one of these argued that ‘all University facilities belong to Council and should be accessible to all paid up students’, and that ‘there is no legal basis for charging for space’. And so it recommended that ‘there should be put in place a University wide Space Allocation Committee to allocate teaching space to all students whether day or evening’. Here

we note a striking instance of how revenue-earning Faculties, which unfailingly stood for maximum decentralisation on most issues—particularly the sharing of fees—were not at all above shaking off both principle and prejudice and calling for a centralised and rational policy when it suited their interests, not failing to add a strong dose of moralism to back up their claim. In the words of the Rwabukwali Report: ‘Faculties with sufficient space should desist from exploiting those that have limited space’. When occasion presented itself, the Faculty of Social Sciences complained bitterly to the Vice Chancellor that the space-endowed Faculties were free to decide what to charge: ‘As of now, each unit decides on what it would want to charge. There is no agreed formula. Those at the receiving end, such as this Faculty, are seriously constrained’.⁷⁶ Reflecting the growing concerns of the ‘revenue-earning Faculties’, the Senate Humanities Committee recommended ‘that the University Timetable Committee should urgently take up the matter of streamlining the use of [the] available teaching space within the University and make recommendations on how to resolve issues such as rates for renting teaching space, among others’.⁷⁷

So long as revenue-earning Departments, Institutes and Faculties kept increasing the enrolment of students, the hunger for space could not be satisfied. Soon Committees were established specifically to look into the question of space. One such early investigation noted ‘the rapid increase in intake at the University leading to serious space constraints in all the Faculties’, and went on to recommend that ‘the Halls of residence of Makerere University could become lecture rooms and all the students become non-residents in an effort to increase available space’.⁷⁸ The question was considered important enough to merit a separate paper at the 2000 Makerere Strategy Planning Workshop. Titled ‘Measures to Cope with Large Student Numbers’,⁷⁹ the paper by the Dean of Education began with a review of measures taken by space-hungry Units to find

‘available usable space’ and critiqued the resort to renting unsuitable space, such as dining halls in residential units:

While the dining halls are assisting to meet the crisis, they are unsuitable as lecture halls. Also, the students get inconvenienced. A lecture which starts at 2 p.m. finds the new resident students still eating. Lectures stop at 6.00 p.m. in dining halls. However, for the next three years these dining halls will continue to be used.

The Dean could see no option but a centralised initiative to build large lecture halls for use by multiple Faculties. In the interim, he proposed the use of tents as an emergency measure:

Starting with October, 2000, large Faculties, Institutes and Schools must set up temporary tents. One needs to visit the tent near YMCA in Kampala or far afield in Delhi in India where Universities use these temporary arrangements quite effectively.

The irony was that in this paper which detailed the space problem and even spelt out emergency measures such as pitching tents and using dining halls as teaching space, the Dean argued for an expansion of student numbers, claiming 50,000 as ‘the optimum number’ for Makerere. His rationale was two-fold: (i) ‘there is adequate space [by which he presumably meant vacant land, not built-up space] to hold this number on Makerere Hill’; and (ii) ‘we have stimulated interest in self sponsorship which has led to increased and increasing number of students, we should not disappoint the Uganda citizens’. As he pointed one finger to open spaces at Makerere, and another to unfulfilled aspirations of Ugandans outside Makerere, it was clear that the Dean was in no mood to take into account the world of real constraints, even if to

lessen these constraints through planned action. So long as the Makerere reform continued to be driven by a new breed of entrepreneurial Heads, Directors and Deans, the enrolment figures would just keep on rising—without regard to the constraint of actual space.

Book Banks

The second factor that contributed to a sharp deterioration in the quality of education in revenue-earning Faculties was the Book Bank system. When student book allowances were abolished, they were replaced by Book Banks which were attached to Departments, and sometimes to Faculties, rather than to the central library. To begin with, because of the ad hoc nature of the decision to set up the Book Bank, no Department had access to purpose-built space for a Book Bank. Every Department was forced to improvise: Book Banks were thus set up in spaces designed and previously used for other activities, such as lecture rooms, offices of Heads of Departments and Lecturers, laboratory rooms, rooms of secretaries or typists, store or other rooms. Not only was the space seldom suitable for the purpose, it was also inevitably inadequate. Inadequate from the outset, the system turned into a disaster with the inflow of privately-sponsored students. In November 1999, Senate formed a University-wide committee to probe into the functioning of the Book Bank system. The Report of the Committee provides a rare and illuminating glimpse into how the Book Bank system, intended as a replacement for a Book Allowance meant for students to purchase core texts, in fact turned out to be corrosive of a reading culture.

Besides the lack of resources to keep it replenished, the two factors that undermined the Book Bank system were the lack of purpose-built space and the lack of qualified staff. In the words of the Committee, 'students find it a problem to have access to the book

banks because in most cases they are in places where they cannot easily browse for ... relevant textbooks. This is further complicated by the multiple functions of ... Book Bank spaces like teaching, store, office and laboratory functions'.⁸⁰ The report went on to talk of lack of a dedicated or qualified staff to run Book Banks: 'most Departments do not have a qualified librarian', and 'most times the staff running Book Banks is not paid'. Here is the report's account of how most book banks were run in most Departments:⁸¹

At the time of starting the Book Bank scheme, the staffing question was not addressed. The issue of managing the Departmental Book Bank collections, which were erstwhile absent, was left to [the] Heads of Department. It was up to them to identify a person who would be responsible for the collection, organisation, storage, maintenance, and issuing and collecting of books to the intended users. [... The practice was to advise Departments to convert one post, say of the messenger or the typist, for the recruitment of Book Bank attendant. ...]

Some Departments/Faculties attempted to get people with reasonable library skills to manage [the] collections for them. Others opted to handle the exercise themselves, while others picked on people who had neither the skills nor the interest to handle. These are the professional or the semi-professional librarians with the necessary skills, lecturers who are busy with other duties, secretaries/typists who lack, laboratory technicians, messengers/storekeepers, and students and other handpicked personnel.

The messengers and storekeepers are the worst category because they tend to 'fear' their users (e.g., lecturers and students) and cannot enforce the regulations in case of

defaulting. In some cases, there are no recognized staff manning the Book Bank collection. In such instances, users have to lend 'themselves' books.

Without a qualified staff, there was neither proper cataloguing nor adequate access to books. When the University Library carried out a stocktaking exercise of Book Banks in 1999, it reported that:⁸²

the arrangement in a majority of Departmental Book Bank collections was chaotic. This is because books of different titles were mixed up with other documents and Departments with space problems kept their books piled up, in many cases, from the floor or squeezed up anywhere where they could fit. As a result of this kind of arrangement, the books gather a lot of dust and are physically damaged through mishandling. In such an arrangement, it becomes extremely difficult to know what is available, as some books lie hidden in the piles unutilised.

In reality, the Book Bank came to replace not just the prior system of Book Allowance but—to some extent—the library system too. Students turned to Book Banks, if not in their own Departments and Faculties then in 'servicing' units, and not to the library system, to get access to reading material for their courses. This is how students in the Faculty of Education wrote of the Book Bank system (which they refer to as 'the library') in their March 2001 Memorandum to the Academic Registrar: 'Registrar Sir, the library of the School of Education lies in ruin. The book shelf is full of Jurassic text books apart from educational literature (in themselves are few compared to large number of students); other literature like history, geography, economics are either not there or there is only one. This has made us to go to [the] departmental libraries like for

Economics and Geography where we end up being abused and denied access'.⁸³

The irony was that whereas students turned to Book Banks for their reading needs, they were expected to pay a library fee to the main library. The Library received a fixed percent of private student fees: starting with a substantial percentage, ten percent, it was then reduced in two phases, first to five percent, then to three percent for undergraduates and two percent for postgraduates. In addition, private students paid a separate 'library fee', at first 10,000 shillings per registered student, later 5,000 shs.⁸⁴ Where did this money go? In spite of the constant inflow of money, there was no new building to cope with the rapid increase of student numbers.⁸⁵ Neither was there any noticeable increase in library holdings. In fact, most collections in the library were in caged holdings, making it impossible for students to browse through books. Nor was the library active in supporting or strengthening departmental or Faculty-level Book Banks. Book Bank holdings were paid for by a separate fund from government, 700 million shillings a year. According to the University Librarian, the University treated this fund as a buffer to which it turned in case of need, as for the payment of emergency water or electricity bills, or when there was a cut in the government budget or in other funds received from government. When asked what changes he would like to see in the system, the University Librarian talked of the need for further decentralisation,⁸⁶ so that Faculties took greater responsibility for Book Banks—and presumably the Central Library would take less responsibility for providing adequate reading materials for students. The sad fact is that, over time, the University's library system came to signify less and less a source of reading and research material and more and more simply a reading space for a bulging student population.

Towards a Mercenary Learning Culture

Senate discussed the problem of lecturer absence from classrooms in August 1998 under the heading 'Problems Affecting Teaching and Learning in the University'.⁸⁷ It noted 'that some teaching members of staff were absenting themselves from classes without justifiable causes while others were not completing marking students' assignments and examination scripts in good time'. It approved a recommendation from the Humanities Committee: 'that the case of any teaching member of staff who absents himself/herself from classes on three consecutive occasions without any justifiable cause(s) should be referred to the respective Dean/Director for appropriate action'. It then added that in case of five consecutive absences, the matter should be referred to the Academic Registrar. But the problems continued. The following year, the Chair informed members of Senate 'that some Lecturers were actually engaging persons who had not been officially appointed to lecture to do so, on their behalf. He warned that such lecturers would be referred to the Appointments Board for disciplinary action as soon as they were identified'.⁸⁸

An even more comprehensive and damning report came from the ad hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines, set up at the Special Meeting of Senate of 2 October 1998.⁸⁹ Put together, its multiple observations highlight problems that range right across the student's lecture-room experience.

First, the absence of reading lists and course outlines:

- It was also reported that, in some cases, reading lists were provided during the last quarter of a semester and at times including certain references not locally available.⁹⁰
- Some lecturers do not give a course outline because, allegedly, they fear to expose their weaknesses.⁹¹

Second, using the same notes over and again, or speaking of matters that have little to do with the subject at hand, or turning lecturing into a policing and supervising exercise:

- Apparently many lecturers appear to be using the same lecture materials repeatedly, some in the form of ‘yellow’ notes.⁹²
- Some lecturers come unprepared for lectures and spend time on trivial matters, by going through unrelated sub-topics, meandering throughout, but set questions in the final examination on virtually untreated topics.⁹³
- One lecturer takes roll-calls at the beginning, middle, and the end of a lecture and is quarrelsome.⁹⁴

Third, a progressive deterioration in the practice of giving lectures, from reading to dictating notes, and then to photocopying and distributing them:

- The culture of reading notes to students instead of teaching has made students lazy and lack creativity ... Students reported dictation of notes, whereby hardly any teaching is done.⁹⁵
- Some lecturers dodge lectures and send notes for photocopying, e.g., Literature (day).⁹⁶

Finally, coming late for lectures, not teaching for the entire lecturing hour, or not bothering to make up missed lectures:

- Students expressed disappointment at some lecturers who persistently for one excuse or another tend to miss giving lectures, so that towards the end of the semester they merely rush through the syllabus ... Some students reported cases of lack of commitment on the part of lecturers:
 - many come late for lectures;
 - some miss periods for lectures and do not even bother making up;
 - some lecturers do not complete the allocated time (contact hours);⁹⁷

Some lecturers cut lectures too often ... Imagine a lecturer cutting lectures for a whole month and he is not reprimanded!⁹⁸

Lecturers from MUBS who too often miss lectures need to be more closely monitored and cautioned.⁹⁹

Of these, the main problems concerned the displacement of lectures by the dictation of notes, and that of lecturer absence. As time went by, it became clear that both problems were widespread.

A direct outcome of doubling the teaching load was that more and more lecturers found it difficult to mark a doubled load of course work and final examinations. Even before the semester system was introduced, the Faculty Board of Social Sciences noted in September 1995 'that some lecturers often fail to produce records of coursework marks'.¹⁰⁰ This kind of irresponsible behaviour became more widespread, particularly in the revenue-earning Faculties, as the student population multiplied. In October 2000, the ISAE Board noted 'with concern that there was an outstanding number of candidates with incomplete results partly because results were compiled and submitted in a disorganised manner'.¹⁰¹ The next year the Board noted once again that 'late submission of results was a very serious problem'.¹⁰²

For reasons we have already explored, the Faculty of Education was often the site of the worst practices. The March 2001 Student Memo to the Academic Registrar complained thus 'Some lecturers, mostly from Faculty of Arts and Institute of Economics, have made it a habit to "cut lectures". Some ... leave their mobile phone numbers with the class leaders but most unfortunately when they are called, they only reply, "I have more important things to do" which means teaching us is less important! Another category of these lecturers come 15 minutes late and leave 15-20 minutes early ... Yet another category report for lectures 3-4 weeks after the beginning of semester under the pretext that the first 3-4 weeks are usually for reporting'.¹⁰³

The subject of the student complaints was within a year the focus of discussion in Faculty gatherings. Meeting in October 2002, the Faculty Board noted that 'the percentage of clear full results' for Semester Two 2001–2002 'was very low' owing to three reasons. One, there was 'the failure of some servicing Departments to submit results to the School. The notorious case was of Religious Studies'. Second, there were 'incomplete results because of missing coursework'. And finally, 'some examination scripts could have gone missing'.¹⁰⁴ Addressing the Board of Studies, the Dean noted 'that the teaching and learning process was not running smoothly up to now because some courses were not being taught due to the abscondment of the lecturers'. The Dean's response was to get students to report on irresponsible lecturers: 'student group leaders have been instructed to keep a daily attendance check on lecturers.' The meeting agreed 'that all the defaulting lecturers should be warned in writing'.¹⁰⁵

Clearly, the system of 'service' courses was breaking down. Increasingly, more and more members of academic staff were unwilling to give priority to work for which they were not paid, directly and immediately. The following year, in October 2003, the Board of Studies in Education noted 'that there were still about five hundred candidates from the 1999 entry group whose results had not yet been finalized for approval and the candidates had not yet graduated' and that 'the reasons for the delay were' three-fold:

1. Many candidates never handed in their course work assignments.
2. In many cases, lecturers refused to hand in candidates results.
3. Other candidates had failed retakes.

The Board then noted that 'Departments in the Faculty of Arts were still negative and this led to delayed or not submitted results',

and that 'sexual harassment and exploitation had been reported and many female students had fallen victim'.¹⁰⁶

The administrative system, too, was being stretched to its limits. In September 2004, the Faculty Board was informed that over 1500 second and third year students sat Semester Two (July 2004) exams without their cards, either because they 'had not paid tuition fees and forged their own examination cards', or because 'more than one examination card could have been printed and only one issued to the student'. In response, the Board decided to withhold examination results until the matter was cleared up.¹⁰⁷ When the 2004–2005 academic year opened, there was no sign of improvement. The Dean informed the Board of Studies in Education that 'with five weeks into Semester One reports had reached (him) that eight courses had not yet been taught'.¹⁰⁸

If I were asked to identify a revenue-earning Faculty Board which periodically worried about at least some of the negative aspects of the reform and discussed these openly in Faculty meetings, I would pick the Faculty of Law. For that reason, it is interesting to note that just about every malpractice rampant in the Faculty of Education surfaced in discussions in the Faculty of Law. Soon after the start of evening classes, the Faculty Board noted 'hitches in the Examinations like members dumping unmarked scripts in the Faculty'.¹⁰⁹ In a space of four years, the teaching load doubled for most members of the academic staff.¹¹⁰ In November 1999, the Board of the Law Faculty 'noted that the issue of student numbers in every class is becoming overwhelming'.¹¹¹

In January 2002, the Law Faculty carried out an audit of examinations and found several irregularities: cases where a student had sat for the exam but neither the script nor the mark was available; in another case, a mark had been entered, but the script was not available; in yet other cases, the script was marked and was available, but no mark had been entered; and finally, cases where lecturers

‘give students one mark and submit a different one to the examinations Secretariat’. Then there were cases of sheer negligence or oversight: marks on the script were either wrongly added up or did not tally with those on record; ‘some numbers are unmarked’; ‘late marking and submission of results of both coursework and exams’.¹¹² A year later, the Board noted ‘a big problem of missing scripts/results’.¹¹³ At the end of the 2002–2003 academic year, ‘ten students ... missed to join LDC because their results came out late’.¹¹⁴

How is one to understand the downward slide in teacher integrity and conduct in revenue-earning Faculties? To what extent can we locate the reasons for a deteriorating conduct in rapidly changing circumstances? One of the few University Committees to delve into these questions was the Senate Task Force appointed in December 2001 to look into the Semester system.

When considering the establishment of a semester system in 1995, the University Council established bottom line student-staff ratio for all Faculties. By 2000–2001, the University’s Department of Planning and Development was reporting that these ratios obtained only in the laboratory-based units, which had 516 filled staff posts (out of an establishment of 785) for 3,785 students, and thus a student-staff ratio of 7.3. In contrast, Humanities-based units had only 476 filled staff posts (out of an establishment of 817) for 17,853 students, student-staff ratio of 37.5. This, the report said, ‘has had negative consequences in terms of crowded lecture rooms, delays in marking student scripts and submission of results’.¹¹⁵ At the same time, Council had indicated 10 contact hours a week (6 hours of lectures, 2 hours of tutorials/seminars, 2 hours of practicals/clinicals) as an acceptable teaching load for a lecturer. In another five years, the Senate Committee looking into the operation of the Semester System acknowledged that ‘because of the introduction and increase of so many new programmes in the Day/Evening/

Afternoon and increase of the student population, some lecturers have complained of a heavy load'. It cited the example of a lecturer 'in a humanities-based programme' with a lecturing load of 27 hours per week, broken down as follows:

BA Day	3 hours
BA Evening	3 hours
Education Group I	3 hours
Education Group II	3 hours
Mass Communication	3 hours
BBA Group I, II, III, IV	12 hours
TOTAL	27 hours a week

The Task Force's comment: 'With the above lecturing load, one wonders whether this particular lecturer has enough time for lecture preparation, tutorial/seminar, marking, research supervision of postgraduate students or even to relax. This partly explains why some students get their examination results delayed'.¹¹⁶ Here is the fifth reason in the list of eight the Task Force gave for 'Why Students Fail': 'Fatigued students/lecturers, especially in the evening classes'.¹¹⁷

The above account of the work-load shouldered by a lecturer in a 'Humanities-based Faculty' should get us to re-think the question of winners and losers of the reform process. Is it true that the revenue-earning Faculties were the winners and those not earning revenue from private student fees the losers? Not everyone was convinced of this. The Dean of the Faculty of Forestry and Natural Conservation had this to say: 'Our colleagues in Humanities have money, but they are just teaching and overworking. How many years can they do it? Soon, they will just get disgusted'.¹¹⁸ From this point of view, there were no winners in the reform, only two different kinds of losers.

The Task Force's account—particularly its figures for dramatically high student-staff ratios in the Humanities-based Faculties—may have exaggerated the reality on the ground to some extent, especially since the Humanities-based units tended to rely increasingly on the hiring of part-time staff. Though the student-staff ratio was not as bad as the Committee's exclusive reliance on official figures for established staff made it out to be, the quality of staff was much poorer than official facts seemed to indicate. Declining student performance reflected multiple factors. A deteriorating teaching culture was only one of these, though it was no doubt important. This, in turn, reflected a combination of factors: at least a doubling of the teaching load for the established academic staff, more and more teaching being done by a rising proportion of part-time junior staff on informal short-term contracts and a growing culture of irresponsibility in the teaching staff. A trait initially identified with part-time lecturers teaching evening classes seemed to be spreading through the entire programme.

Under pressure from an expanding workload, including a teaching load that had at least doubled as evening classes were added to day classes, more and more lecturers resorted to survival strategies which led to a declining quality of lectures and low student attendance. This could be glimpsed as early as 1998–1999 from Senate discussion under two separate items. The first concerned 'poor performance in D.E. 100', Development Studies, Year One, Semester One. It noted the Head of Department's investigation into the causes for poor performance: three of the five reasons the Head gave were 'that some of the students neither attended lectures nor did course work', 'that students lacked reading materials and that many of them had no reading habits', and 'that the courses were not well taught'. Under another item at that same meeting, Senate discussed 'Irregular Attendance of Lectures by Students' and noted that 'absenteeism from lectures by students was becoming very

common', and that it was 'encouraged' by three factors: 'the ease with which lecture notes could be photocopied', 'the existence of regulations which permitted a student to retake a failed course or retake a course in which the marks obtained were not satisfactory to a student', and 'the fact that some students were pursuing studies in more than one programme at the same time'.¹¹⁹ Lecturer irresponsibility did not always translate into low marks. In an interesting twist, a Senate sub-committee found that in one particular course (Law 202: Administrative Authorities), 'the lecturer had hardly taught' and yet student marks had improved from one year to the next: 'However, our investigation revealed that students were passing without adequate teaching, probably due to the fact that marks were just being awarded'.¹²⁰

By 2000, it had become common practice to dictate notes to students in class and, when a lecturer was absent in a class, to distribute notes in lieu of the lecture. Dictating or distributing notes was not simply the survival strategy of a lecturer, it was also a demand of students unable to attend, either because of lack of space in large classes, or due to time-table clashes. No wonder that as the reform proliferated, so did the dictation of notes.

If lecturers were taking to using proxies to teach and then to grade students, or simply dictating and distributing notes instead of teaching, students were also resorting to employing fellow students to take examinations or write research papers on their behalf. This is how a committee of the Faculty of Social Sciences summed up 'the problem' in October 1998. On the one hand, it acknowledged that 'some lecturers use students to grade their fellow students or in other examination processes such as adding marks, carrying examination scripts and marks to the Faculty Office'. On the other hand, it noted: 'It is alleged that some Social Sciences students hire "mercenaries" to do their course-work, examinations

and to write research proposals. It is further alleged that some students of Day programme sit tests for Evening programme and vice versa for monetary and other gains'. And then conceded: 'Poor supervision of examination due to large numbers of students and staffing shortages make it easy for students to practically cheat during tests and examinations. In fact the whole process of cheating has been systematised in a strategy, which they call "Minimum Effort Maximum Cooperation"'.¹²¹

Student plagiarism became a major concern starting 2000. For two years running the Board of ISAE observed that plagiarism seemed to have gelled into a regular practice whereby student discussion groups formed to prepare for exams 'tend to cluster together while sitting for tests and this has helped them to share answers to questions'.¹²² As if throwing up its hands in the air, the May 2002 Board minutes glibly noted, 'Cheating in examinations had become very rampant in the entire University'.¹²³

Of greater concern was cheating at the postgraduate and Faculty level. In May 2000, the Acting Director of the School of Postgraduate Studies worried about the 'duplication of theses and dissertations'. The Committee noted 'that plagiarism was growing among University students and staff inclusive'.¹²⁴ In November 2000, the Committee met to consider the case of a postgraduate student who had plagiarised another's dissertation.¹²⁵

Senate's response was to set up an Academic Quality Assurance Committee.¹²⁶ The Committee received complaints about the most flagrant practices in the University. Without the mandate to critique and re-think the very nature of the reform—particularly its far-reaching commercialisation and vocationalisation—the Academic Quality Assurance Committee simply turned into yet another forum for airing the widespread breach of expected academic practice.¹²⁷ When the scale of the problem became clear, the

Academic Registrar's Department turned to donors for funds to build on the work of the Standing Committee; the proposal for 'Developing Quality Assurance Framework in Makerere University' was addressed for a grant of US \$199,825 for a three year period beginning October 2004.¹²⁸

The Re-Take Problem

The two centralised administrative activities that directly, adversely and seriously impacted on student performance were registration and time-tabling. Among the 18 reasons the 1998–99 Senate ad hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines, identified as 'generally responsible for poor performance' were the following four:¹²⁹

- 'Teaching time table clashes which encouraged students to "dodge" lectures or to attend lecture "in turns"'; (5)
- 'The painful and arduous process of payment of fees and registration'; (9)
- 'Disregarding the needs of Evening Class students in the operation of certain facilities, such as the IDA Section in the Main Library, toilets, Deans/Directors' and Heads of Departments';
- 'Offices being locked when the Evening Class students would still be studying' (15).

A fifth was 'poor management of the very limited Book Bank facilities'. (4) Together, the breakdown of the Book Bank system and of core administrative responsibilities (registration and time-tabling) made for a chaotic student life. Their combined impact can be seen in the rapid increase in failures, and thus in the number of students having to repeat ('retake') courses.

The semester system did away with supplementary exams; instead, a student was required to re-take a course when offered again. Students repeated courses not simply because they failed them; they also had to repeat when they were unable to take the examination for the course.¹³⁰ Furthermore, they could 'miss' an examination because they were not allowed to take it—because of failure to complete paying fees in time. A Task Force noted one such instance: 'That a number of students pay part of the fees, but are unable to pay the balance, a consequence of which is that they miss examinations.'¹³¹ The Senate Humanities Committee noted that, even in instances where all fees are paid, 'some students miss examinations due to late payment and registration'.¹³² Finally, there were students who had to repeat a course because they missed the examination, because it was scheduled at the same time as another examination they also had to take. Such 'examination clashes' were plentiful.

This is how the Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities described the registration process: 'The registration process is a menace to everybody, and torturous, long and demoralising to students. The registration office makes registration almost impossible by starting late and closing early. They may start registering at 3 p.m. and end at 4 p.m. even when students are around and then charge a late registration fee when it is not the fault of the student ... The process of registration is just too long, it is a struggle and students get injured during the process. Sometimes there is only one person who registers through the window and students give up. Generally the administrative staff involved in the process were not friendly'.¹³³ In short, the Committee noted, 'registration is a nightmare: the late registration surcharge of 6000 shs seems to be intended to punish students for a fault not of their own making'.¹³⁴ For their part, 'Students saw in the system a sinister

attempt by the university to generate more funds through payment of late registration fee'.¹³⁵

The Senate Humanities Committee further noted that, when it came to students re-taking courses, they were likely to have to repeat yet again because of clashes in the examination time-table: 'That some students who had registered for retake courses could not sit for examination due to clashes in the timetable'.¹³⁶ The Committee investigating 'Problems Associated with the Semester System' confirmed: 'There is a problem of clashing time tables especially when a student has a re-take. Some students have had to choose between the current semester exams and their retakes and thus, you find that a student keeps on missing his/her retake exam because of failure to fix it in the timetable'.¹³⁷

The problem of examination clashes was not just structural; it was also political. The structural problem stemmed from Faculty decentralisation: given minimal coordination between Faculties, the proliferation of inter-disciplinary programmes led to greater chances of time-table clashes. As the Senate Committee looking into the matter noted: 'Time-table clashes disorganise students. Students who combine courses from two different Faculties are affected the most'.¹³⁸ The political problem was between rival Faculties, in particular the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Social Sciences. Each claimed the other set its time-table to maximise clashes between the two Faculties and so discourage students from taking courses in the rival Faculty. Not only were some timetable clashes *organised*, there was little students could do to avoid them since the timetable inevitably came out after they had chosen their majors and minors. This is how a Senate Committee described the dilemma:¹³⁹

Students miss classes because of time-table clashes. The Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Social Sciences have up to now failed to synchronise their time-tables. Some students arrange

to attend clashing classes in turns in order to share notes with those who attend—that is, one student attends a class in say Arts and another in the School of Education, then the two share notes. This is a bad practice caused by the clashes. Time-table clashes also lead to students missing ‘sudden’/‘abrupt’ tests. Unfortunately, time-tables are finalised after students have chosen their majors and minors and so they cannot make changes, and so have to bear with the clashes. Clashes are more of a problem to those students who combine courses from two different Faculties. They end up missing as many as ten different lectures a week.

And then there were times when students had to re-take a course even after they had taken the exam—at least in one case brought to light by a Committee looking into poor performance in specific courses: ‘Loss of marks of students due to negligence of some lecturers prompting students to retake courses they would otherwise have passed, was of great concern to students’.¹⁴⁰ Perhaps the highest number of re-takes were in the Faculty of Education. In October, 2002, the Board of Studies of the School of Education ‘observed that (the) number of re-takes in all years was high’; more specifically, 75 percent of final year candidates had re-takes.¹⁴¹

In some courses in the Social Sciences, the percentage retaking the course was above 20 percent.¹⁴² The regulations said that a student could only re-take a course three times; a fourth failure led to dismissal. It is on these grounds that ‘over 50 students were discontinued from the Faculty of Social Sciences because of failing a course three times consecutively’. A 2002 report suggested that this requirement be abolished: ‘The student should have the right to take a course as many times as he/she wishes as long as this is done within the (5) years allocated to the BA (SS) programme’. ‘This’, the report reiterated, ‘is one of the core values of the Semester

System'. The Committee also recommended that 'the condition that a student should first pass failed courses before taking on new courses should be abolished'.¹⁴³

In the years that followed, every effort was made to make it as easy as possible for students to re-take a course, so much so that *a student with a low mark was permitted to re-take a course to upgrade the mark for the same course*. That a student was allowed to retake a course if s/he was not satisfied with the final result was sure testimony to a spreading commercial culture—one in which course grades were increasingly seen as assets to be purchased financially rather than attained through study.

The phenomenon of retakes illustrates the deep inroads made by commercial relations into an academic culture. Perhaps the most pungent comment on this came from the Student Guild, in its memo to the Turyagyenda Committee (which we shall come across in the next chapter). Titled 'Students Response,' it noted: 'There is a saying that "a disease that will kill a man starts as an appetite". The appetite for increased allowances in this University is increasing at Rocket speed and we think the University officials should take heed.' As a consequence, it noted: 'Professional excellence has dropped in this University. There are no seminars, public addresses or debates yet we have full time professors in plenty. They are only seen in public when they are agitating for living wages' (pp. 79-80).

Distinguishing Privatisation from Commercialisation

In the early stages of the reform, evening classes were synonymous with fee-paying private students and day classes with students on government scholarship. Early investigations into student performance also confirmed the impression that the problem lay specifically with evening classes. This, for example, was how a

lecturer in charge of a course (203) explained the difference between good and bad performances: 'Day students' performance was good but most failures were from Evening Students. He attributed this high failure rate to very low admission requirements for Evening Students as opposed to the high cut off points for Day students ... Most students studied by proxy. They relied on photocopying. Less than 60% of Evening Students attended lectures'.¹⁴⁴ The Evening Students, in turn, felt they were singled out as a group for adverse and inferior treatment: 'Most lecturers perceive the Evening class as inferior and only there to generate money for the University'.¹⁴⁵ One can find the same argument in other reports. Here, for example, is one of 18 reasons for poor student performance given by the 1998 Senate ad hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines: 'Admission of applicants who had obtained the barest minimum passes who lacked the aptitude for academic subjects'.¹⁴⁶ And yet, the equation of private students with low motivation and bad performance is not always found in reports of Senate committees looking into student performances. In fact, the Committee that looked into 'The Magnitude of Students Poor Performance in the Humanities' was of the opposite opinion: 'Private students are more serious with their studies. Government-sponsored students apparently do not take their studies seriously ... Government-sponsored students often clap when a lecturer misses to come'.¹⁴⁷ The two views are grounded in two different assumptions: the first that government students were likely to be smarter since government-sponsorship was reserved for students with higher grades, and the second that private students were likely to take their education more seriously since they had to pay for it.

Being an evening student was not easy. After all, the University had been set up for day students and still continued to be run as if evening classes—and evening students—were an afterthought. Not only the offices of the Central Administration, but even the Deans'

Offices in the revenue-earning Faculties, closed at 5 p.m., the acknowledged hour for the beginning of evening classes. The result was that there was no one in the Dean's Office to attend to evening student inquiries.¹⁴⁸ Even meagre day services closed down in the evening: if the toilets were not clean in the day time, some were locked at 5 p.m. 'so that evening classes are inconvenienced because the students have nowhere to go until 10.00 p.m.'¹⁴⁹

One of the few Faculties to deliberate over this question over the duration was Law. From the very beginning of the reform, it was concerned to assess the impact of private students on the quality of education being offered in the Faculty. Soon after the entry of the first batch of private students, the Law Faculty Board was informed in April 1993 'that about 20 students have now settled in and the class's academic performance is not much different from that of students who were admitted on the regular basis'.¹⁵⁰ But in the years that followed, as the number of private students increased, the rate of failure also climbed up. The Faculty was concerned: Wherein lay the problem? Did it lie with changed entry requirements for private students or elsewhere?

The Faculty finally took the bull by the horns in November 2002 and the Dean asked the Acting Deputy Dean for Academic and Student Affairs to carry out a study to find out whether high failure rates were related to changing entry requirements. This is how the Faculty Board setting the terms of the investigation defined the background to the problem. On the face of it, the problem seemed straightforward. It all seemed to have begun when the Odoki Report (1995) recommended departing from 'traditional admission requirements into the LL.B. programme which included offering Economics, History and Literature courses at 'A' level ... following the adoption (of) this recommendation, there ha(ve) been high failure rates in the Faculty of Law'. Board minutes noted 'that the Acting Deputy Dean (Undergraduate) and the Faculty

Administrator had been assigned to establish the subjects done at 'A' level by students who consistently failed', and 'that the subjects in question were Luganda, Art, Islamic and Arabic Studies'.

But the Deputy Dean's findings challenged this common sense account. The findings were threefold: '(1) Students who offer non-core subjects at 'A' level like Islam, Luganda, Arabic or Fine Art are spread within the normal performance curve of students. (2) 40% of Government sponsored, 40% of Diploma holders and 20% private Day are among the best 50% students in every class every year. (3) That 85% of the problem students are evening and 15% are private while 5% are government sponsored'. Clearly, the problem lay, not with the 'open door policy', nor with private students but elsewhere. It is this elsewhere that the Faculty Board was shy to pin-point. When the Faculty Board received the report of the Acting Dean at its January 2003 meeting, it noted only 'that since there was no correlation between the failure rates and subjects offered at 'A' level, the existing open door policy be maintained'.¹⁵¹ But the Board remained silent about the correlation between high failure rates and Evening classes that the Acting Deputy Dean's investigation had uncovered. Had the Board pursued this insight, it would have found it necessary to distinguish privatisation (the entry of fee-paying private students) from commercialisation and, in the process, re-think its own long-standing commitment to unadulterated decentralisation.

Notes

1. Office of the Dean, Faculty of Arts, Common Position of Income Generating Units on the Proposed Interim Measures to Finance Staff Salary Increase, 26 March 2004: pp. 1-2.
2. Minutes of the 39th Meeting of the Board of Studies of the School of Education, Held on Thursday, 15 February 1996: pp. 3-4.
3. Minutes of the 1st Meeting, 1996–1997 Academic Year of the Board of Studies of the School of Education, Held on 8 October 1996: p. 3.
4. Here are the Vice Chancellor's comments to Senate at its Special Meeting on 16 June 2004: 'Pointed out that Part-time Lecturers should be appointed by the Appointments Board and not Deans/Directors as was the case in some Academic Units.' See Communication from the Chair; Minutes of the Special Meeting of Senate Held on 16 June 2004: pp. 3-4.
5. Faculty of Arts, Minutes of the 143rd Faculty Board Meeting, Held on 8 January 1999: p. 9.
6. Faculty of Arts, Minutes of the 146th Faculty Board Meeting, Held on Thursday, 22 July 1999: pp. 1-4; Faculty of Arts, Minutes of the 152nd Faculty Board Meeting, Held on Wednesday, 9 August 2000, Continued on 29 August 2000: pp. i-iv.
7. Faculty of Arts, Minutes of the 146th Faculty Board Meeting, Held on Thursday, 22 July 1999: p. 7.
8. Faculty of Arts, Minutes of the 152nd Faculty Board Meeting, Held on Wednesday, 9 August 2000, Continued on 29 August 2000: p. 1.
9. AT25: 2 Makerere University, Faculty of Arts.
10. 'External Part-Timers, Faculty of Arts, 2001–2002', mimeo.
11. 'External Part-Timers, Faculty of Arts, 2001–2002', mimeo.
12. Compiled from interviews with Co-ordinators of TM, EM (Geography), OGS (History), DS (History), URP (Geography). Sources for Programme Figures: Coordinator OGS, Dept of History; Coordinator BTM, Dept of Geography; Coordinator B.A. EM, Dept of Geography; Sources for Departmental Figures: Dean's Office. According to the Co-ordinator of OGS, 'OGS and B.DEVS are purely private courses and therefore lecturers who teach are hired and nobody is

permanent'. According to the Senior Coordinator of B. URP, 'We rely heavily on part-time manpower especially in the technical aspects of the course. These are hired from different places for as long as they conform to the requirements of the course'. The Coordinator BA (Dance) said there were four lecturers in the department and three were part-timers from outside the university. One was from the university.

13. Faculty of Arts, Minutes of the Heads of Department and Coordinators' Meeting, Held on Monday, 16 September 2002: p. 7.
14. See Table titled 'List Showing Details of Faculty Contribution to the Central Administration and Expenditures Incurred by the Faculty which the University would have Incurred', p. 8; see also Minutes of the Meeting of the Deans and Directors of Income Generating Units on the Proposed Interim Measures to Finance Staff Salary Increase, 24 March 2004, Minute Extract for the Attention of the University Senate.
15. Interview, Dr Masembe, Dean, Institute of Education, 17 July 2003.
16. Minutes of the 2nd Quality Assurance Committee Meeting, Held on 6 June 2002 in Associate Dean's Office, Faculty of Arts: p. 4.
17. Makerere University, 'The Report of the Senate Ad Hoc Committee on Staff Who Register for Further Studies', March 1999: pp. 11-12.
18. Makerere University, Terms of Service for Academic Staff and Senior Library and Senior Administrative Staff, as Amended by Council, dated, 17 April 2000: p. 3.
19. Interview, Professor Opuda-Asibo, Director, School of Postgraduate Studies, 30 July 2003.
20. Interview, Dean, School of Medicine, 15 July 2003.
21. Interview, Dr Masembe, Dean, Institute of Education, 17 July 2003.
22. Minutes of the Continuation of the 12th Faculty Board Finance Committee Meeting, Held on Wednesday, 31 July 2002: p. 6.
23. Faculty of Arts, Minutes of the 159th Heads of Departments Meeting, Held on 10 August 2002: pp. 4-5.
24. Minutes of the 6th Quality Assurance Committee Meeting, Held on 15 April 2003: p. 2.
25. Interview, Mr Ben Byambazi, the Bursar, 2 August 2003.
26. Faculty of Arts, Minutes of the Heads of Department and Coordinators' Meeting, Held on Monday, 16 September 2002: p. 8.

27. Faculty of Arts, Minutes of the Heads of Department and Coordinators' Meeting, Held on Monday, 16 September 2002: pp. 3-7, 9.
28. Faculty of Social Sciences, Minutes of the Faculty Board of Examiners Meeting, Held on Friday, 4 May 2001 and Tuesday, 15 May 2001 in the Computer Room: pp. 7-9.
29. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the Special Faculty Board Meeting and the Visit of the Vice-Chancellor*, on Monday, 4 December 2000: pp. 4-5.
30. Makerere University, *Minutes of the 9th Meeting of the Academic and Library Committee*, Held on 7 June 2005: pp. 10-11.
31. Senate Science Committee, *Minutes of the 18th Meeting of the Senate Science Committee*, Held on 8 February 2001, 14 February 2001, 20 February 2001, 21 February 2001, 1 March 2001 in Board Room 2, Academic Registrar's Building: p. 11.
32. *Minutes of the Senate Ad Hoc Committee on the Proposed Bachelor of Environmental Science Degree Programme*, Held on Thursday, 5 September 2002: pp. 2-4.
33. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 161st Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on 13 March 2002 in Lecture Room 1, Faculty of Arts: p. 7.
34. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 155th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Wednesday, 7 February 2001, p. 26.
35. *Minutes of the 94th Meeting of Senate*, Held in Council Room, on Wednesday, 17 March 1993, p. 19.
36. Interview, Dr Nwangwa, Dean, Technology, 27 July 2003.
37. *Minutes of the 109th Meeting of Senate*, Held at Makerere University Business School, Nakawa on Wednesday, 22 July 1998: p. 38.
38. *Minutes of the 109th Meeting of Senate*, Held at Makerere University Business School, Nakawa on Wednesday, 22 July 1998: p. 38.
39. *Report of the Meeting Between the Chairperson, Vice-Chancellor of Makerere University Council and the Principal of Makerere University Business School*, 17-18 April 2000: pp. 2-3.
40. Interview, Dr Ddumba Ssentamu, Director, Institute of Economics, 25 July 2003.
41. See Department of Philosophy, 'Proposal to Introduce A Master of Arts in Ethics and Public Management', mimeo, February 1999.
42. Department of Philosophy, 'Proposal to Introduce A Master of Arts in Ethics and Public Management', mimeo, February 1999.

43. Department of Religious Studies, 'Proposal To Introduce A Master of Arts Degree in Peace and Conflict Studies', mimeo, no date.
44. Interview, Dr Okello Ogwang, Department of Literature, 23 July 2003.
45. *Minutes of the 112th Meeting of the Senate*, Held in Council Room, on Wednesday, 3 May 2000, Thursday, 4 May 2000, Wednesday, 11 May 2000, 12 May 2000 and Wednesday, 14 June 2000: pp. 142-44; Faculty of Law, *Minutes of the 139th Meeting of the Faculty Board*, Held on Thursday, 11 November 1999, in LL.B III: p. 9.
46. *Minutes of the 33rd Meeting of the Board of Postgraduate Studies and Research*, Held on Thursday, 19 and Continued on Monday, 21 June 1999: p. 51.
47. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the Heads of Department and the Faculty Programme/ Subject Coordinators' Meeting*, Held on Friday, 8 February 2002: p. 4.
48. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the Heads and Representatives of the Departments of Literature, Mass Communication, MDD and Institute of Languages*, Held on Tuesday, 19 February 2002: p. 3.
49. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the Heads of Department and the Faculty Programme/ Subject Coordinators' Meeting*, Held on Friday, 8 February 2002: pp. 4, 6; Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the Heads and Representatives of the Departments of Literature, Mass Communication, MDD and Institute of Languages*, Held on Tuesday, 19 February 2002: pp. 3-4.
50. Institute of Languages, *Communications Skills Course for First Year Law Students*, 19 March 2003: pp. 1-2.
51. Faculty of Arts, *Minutes of the 171th Meeting of the Faculty Board*, Held on Wednesday, 3 March 2004: pp. 7-8.
52. Department of Literature, 'Report of the Content Subject Committee', 2 November 2000: p. 13.
53. This is how the development was reported in the minutes of the Faculty of Law: 'Noted (i) that the University suspended all Research monies and research cannot be conducted without funds; (ii) that Government copied the example of the University and suspended the Research vote'. See *Minutes of the 118th Meeting of the Faculty Board of Law*, Held on Wednesday, 14 April 1993: p. 5.
54. See *Minutes of 74th Meeting of Council*, 16-17 December 1996.

55. *Minutes of the 104th Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room on 4 December and 5 December: pp. 7-8.
56. *Minutes of the 74th Meeting of the University Council*, Held in the Council Room, on 16 and 17 December 1996: p. 38.
57. Prior to 1994, the M.A. programme developed along conventional academic lines: Senate approved an M.A. in Women's Studies in August, 1990 and a Masters programme in Business Administration in 1992. The Vice Chancellor informed Senate that 'a new course, Master of Arts in Economic Planning and Management, had been officially launched on Wednesday, 17th April 1991 by the Minister of Planning and Economic Development Hon. Mayanja Nkanji'. The course was implemented in collaboration with the E.E.C. and the University of East Anglia. It is in line with this trend that Senate approved in May 2000, the establishment of an M.A. in Population and Development Planning Degree in the Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, and a Master of Development Studies Degree programme in the Institute of Economics. See *Minutes of the Special Meeting of Senate*, Held on Wednesday, 29 August 1990 and 4 September 1990 in the Council Room: p. 6; *Minutes of the 91st Meeting of the Senate*, Held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 15 January 1992 and Wednesday, 5 February 1992: 19; *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Senate*, Held in the Council Room, on Thursday, 18 April 1991: p. 4; *Minutes of the 112th Meeting of the Senate*, held in Council Room, on Wednesday, 3 May 2000, Thursday 4 May 2000, Wednesday 11 May 2000, 12 May 2000 and Wednesday 14 June 2000: pp. 131-132.
58. *Minutes of the 113th Meeting of the Senate*, Held on 28 and 29 March and 6 April 2000: pp. 30-31.
59. *Minutes of the 113th Meeting of the Senate*, Held on 28 and 29 March and 6 April 2000: pp. 48-50.
60. Interview, Dr Vincent A. Ssembatya, Department of Mathematics, 15 July 2003.
61. Interview, Professor Opuda-Asibo, Director, School of Postgraduate Studies, 30 July 2003.
62. This particular observation followed a discussion on the proposal from MUBS that, in addition to its current Diploma Programme, the School be allowed to run a Bachelors Degree Programme in Transport and Logistics Management. Earlier, Senate had noted the need to reconcile the content of the newly proposed Master of Arts Degree Programme in Refugee Law and Forced Migration with the already existing Postgraduate Diploma in the same subject. See Makerere University, The

- Academic Programmes and Library Committee, *Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of the Academic and Library Committee*, Held on 8 June 2004: p. 5; *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Senate*, Held in Council Room on Wednesday, 6 December 2000 and on Thursday, 7 December 2000: p. 22.
63. Faculty of Law, *Minutes of the 97th Meeting of the Faculty Board*, Held on 7 September 1988: p. 5; also see Faculty of Law, *Minutes of the 145th Meeting of the Faculty Board*, Held on Wednesday, 13 June 2001: p. 4.
 64. Makerere University, 'The Report of the Senate Ad Hoc Committee, Investigating Causes of Failure and Poor Performance by Students, During University Examinations in Certain Subjects, Education Psychology (School of Education), Mathematics (Faculty of Science)', mimeo, pp. 6-29.
 65. As regards the course 'Fundamental Accounting Principles', the Report says: 'Some lecturers were intimidating, discouraging or threatening students. They were not regular in lecturing and did not follow the regular time-tables'. And here is its comment regarding the course Histology and Embryology: 'The Department of Anatomy had old and few equipment and few members of staff - only six of them of whom two were on study leave then ... The few staff on the ground were overloaded with work and were poorly motivated'. *Minutes of the Continuation of the Special Meeting of the Senate*, Held in the Council Room on 14 August, and Friday, 15 August 1997: pp. 9-10, 10-12.
 66. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Senate*, Held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 19 May 1999: p. 13.
 67. Here I am discussing the lack of teaching space. In the non-revenue earning Units where the student-staff ratio was usually much better than in their revenue-earning counterparts, the space problem was also experienced as the lack of space for staff offices. As a report of the Faculty of Science pointed out, 'Every Department is squeezed in a way. This is a result of the growing numbers of staff but limited office space. This makes the Departments uncomfortable'. *Minutes of the Special Faculty of Science Heads of Departments Meeting*, Held on Thursday, 21 April 1995, p. 2.
 68. This is how the Dean of the Faculty of Education responded to staff concern regarding toilets as early as November 1999: 'That members of staff who requested for staff toilets could use the 2 toilets which are under lock and key in DOSATE and 1 in Curriculum. He promised to repair the broken ones. That those in the Main Block should be shared with students. That Heads of Department will be issued with toilet papers to distribute to their members of staff - one toilet paper

- per staff per month'. *Minutes of the Board of Studies*, Held at the School of Education, Room 4 on Tuesday, 11 November 1999, p. 2.
69. Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, *Minutes of the Board of Studies Meeting*, Held on Monday, 13 May 2002: p. 5.
70. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 104th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Friday, 18 February 2000 in the Lower Lecture Theatre (New Building): p. 10.
71. School of Education, *Minutes of the Board of Studies Meeting*, Held at the School of Education, Room 4 on Monday, 16 and Tuesday, 24 October 2000: p. 4.
72. School of Education, *Minutes of the First Meeting of the Board of Studies of the School of Education*, Held on 2, 3 and 4 May 2002 in the Language Resource Centre: p. 3.
73. School of Education, *Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Studies of the School of Education*, Held on Friday, 29 October 2004, in Lecture Room 4: p. 2.
74. Makerere University, *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Committee of Deans*, Held in the Council Room on Wednesday 23 December 1998: pp. 3-4.
75. The figures for School of Education are most likely for the entire year since the tables submitted by the School end with a note 'N.B.: Some revenue and expenditure has been calculated basing on 2002-03 Financial performance'. It would seem that the figures in (1) Claims for Hiring Space would fall within this range since they include two different entries for several units, suggesting that each entry is for a separate term: shs 16,309,000 for the first term and shs 16,458,750 for the second term. Source: *Minutes of the Meeting of Deans and Directors of Income Generating Units of the Proposed Interim Measures to Finance Staff Salary Increase*, pp. 8 (Arts), 12 (Education), 15 (Social Sciences), 17 (ICS), and 19 (MUIE).
76. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Meeting of Faculty Board members with the Vice Chancellor Scheduled for 19 December 2001 in Lower Lecture Theatre at 2.30 PM*.
77. Makerere University, *Minutes of the Senate Humanities Committee*, Held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 13 May 1998: p. 8.
78. The Republic of Uganda, The Parliament of Uganda, *Report of the Sessional Committee on Social Services on the 1999-2000 Budget*, September 1999: p. 8.
79. J. C. Ssekamwa, Dean, School of Education, 'Measures to cope with large student numbers', 15 February 2000, mimeo, p. 1.

80. Makerere University, 'A Report of the Committee on the Appraisal of the Book Bank', mimeo, pp. 9-10.
81. Makerere University, 'A Report of the Committee on the Appraisal of the Book Bank', mimeo, pp. 6-8.
82. Makerere University, 'A Report of the Committee on the Appraisal of the Book Bank', mimeo, p. 14.
83. Enyaga Fulukas Boroa, 'Memorandum of Understanding by Students of the School of Education with the Academic Registrar Concerning Academic Plight of the Students of the School of Education', mimeo, 30 March 2001: p. 6.
84. Interview, Dr Mugasha, University Librarian, 18 July 2003.
85. Such, for example, was the complaint of Dr Sentongo Kibalana, Associate Dean, Agriculture during an interview, 7 July 2003.
86. Interview, Dr Mugasha, University Librarian, 18 July 2003.
87. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 5 August 1998: pp. 33-34.
88. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Council Room on 5 May 1999: p. 6.
89. The *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities* is attached to the Minutes of the 111th Meeting of the Senate, held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 30 June 1999, and Thursday, 1 July 1999: pp. 14-15, 16-18. Many of the individual observations were identified by the external examiners' reports in different Faculties. For example, see the reference to large classes with no tutorial in the Faculty of Technology, *Minutes of the 9th Meeting of the Faculty Board of Examiners*, held on 23 June 1994 in Room 149, Faculty of Technology Building, p. 3. Similarly, when the Faculty of Social Sciences prepared to meet the Vice Chancellor, the Department of Sociology memo stated: 'Some students stand outside lecture rooms during lecture time or have no seats to sit on.' See, Faculty of Social Sciences, *Meeting of the Faculty Board Members with the Vice Chancellor scheduled for 19 December 2001 in Lower Lecture Theatre*, p. 1.
90. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', mimeo, p. 24.
91. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', p. 31.
92. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', p. 22.
93. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', p. 15.

94. Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', p. 17.
95. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', p. 25.
96. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', p. 26.
97. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', p. 15.
98. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', p. 31.
99. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', p. 19.
100. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Committee of Deans*, Held in the Council Room on Thursday, 7 September, Monday, 11 September, and on Tuesday, 12 September 1995: p. 26.
101. Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, *Minutes of the Board of Studies Meeting*, Held on Thursday, 26 October 2000 in Room A13: p. 3.
102. Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, *Minutes of the Board of Studies Meeting* Held on Wednesday, 3 October 2001 in Room A13: pp. 2-3.
103. Enyaga Fulukas Boroa, 'Memorandum of Understanding by Students of the School of Education with the Academic Registrar Concerning Academic Plight of the Students of the School of Education', mimeo, 30 March 2001: pp. 5-6.
104. School of Education, *Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Studies of the School of Education*, Held on Thursday, 31 October 2002 in Lecture Room 4: p. 2.
105. School of Education, *Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Studies of the School of Education*, Held on Thursday, 31 October 2002 in Lecture Room 4: p. 2.
106. *Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Studies*, Held on Wednesday, 1 October 2003 in Lecture Room 4: p. 2.
107. School Education, *Minutes of a Meeting of the Heads of Departments*, Held on Wednesday, 22 September 2004, in the Language Resource Centre: p. 2.
108. Faculty of Education, *Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Studies of the School of Education*, Held on Friday, 29 October 2004, in the Lecture Room 4: p. 2.
109. Faculty of Law, *Minutes of the Faculty of Law Examiner Board Meeting*, Held on Thursday, 28 July 1994 in the LL.B III Lecture Room: p. 3.

110. Before the evening programme, the Faculty Board noted that 'the minimum contact hours per week are 8', and that these included two hours of supervision of research plus one hour of supervision of course work plus five hours of lectures and tutorials. See Faculty of Law, *Minutes of the 102nd Meeting*, Held on 2 May 1990, in LL.B II Lecture Room: pp. 3-4. The detailed teaching load of academic staff for the academic year 1994-1995 shows that, in most cases, the lecturers concerned simply doubled their teaching load by teaching their Day course in the Evening programme, see, Faculty of Law, *Minutes of the 124th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Monday 22 and Friday, 26 August 1994, in the LL.B II Lecture Room: pp. 10-11.
111. Faculty of Law, *Minutes of the 139th Meeting of the Faculty Board*, Held on Thursday, 11 November 1999, in LL.B III: p. 5.
112. Faculty of Law, *Minutes of the 148th Meeting of the Faculty Board*, Held on Tuesday, 8 and 22 January 2002, Respectively in the Conference Hall, HURIPEC House: pp. 2-3.
113. Faculty of Law, *Minutes of the 151st Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Wednesday, 15 January 2003, in the Conference Hall, HURIPEC House: p. 9. Two months later, in March 2003, the Law Faculty Board was informed of several problems, that 'the examination results for L406 (International Law) were not complete because the coursework marks ... had not yet been submitted', and that 'it was not possible to pay for marking allowance immediately' because funds had been spent for 'the purchase of a Faculty vehicle originally not budgeted for'. See, Faculty of Law, *Minutes of the 153rd Examiners Board Meeting*, Held on Wednesday, 14, Thursday, 22, and Friday 23, May 2003, Respectively, in the Conference Hall, HURIPEC House: pp. 3-4.
114. Faculty of Law, *Minutes of the 153rd Examiners Board Meeting*, Held on Wednesday, 14, Thursday, 22, and Friday 23 May 2003, Respectively, in the Conference Hall, HURIPEC House: pp. 3-4.
115. The Senate Task Force, *A Report of the Operations of the Makerere University Semester System*, October 2002: p. 24.
116. The Senate Task Force, *A Report of the Operations of the Makerere University Semester System*, October 2002: pp. 13-24.
117. The Senate Task Force, *A Report of the Operations of the Makerere University Semester System*, October 2002: p. 13.

118. Interview, Dr Kabogooza, Dean, Faculty of Forestry and Natural Conservation, 16 July 2003.
119. The Senate Special Meeting, *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Senate*, Held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 19 May 1999: pp. 21-22.
120. Makerere University, 'A Report of the Quality Assurance Committee Investigating Causes of Failure and Poor Performance By Students of the Faculty of Law in the Following University Examinations, 202, Administrative Authorities and 203, Equity and Trusts', mimeo, November 2000: p. 3.
121. Faculty of Social Sciences, 'Recommendations to Makerere University Task Force on the Semester System', mimeo, September 2002: p. 18.
122. Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, *Minutes of the Board of Studies Special Meeting*, Held on Tuesday, 4 December 2001 in Room A 13: p. 7.
123. Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, *Minutes of the Board of Studies Meeting*, Held on Monday, 13th May 2002: p. 14.
124. School of Postgraduate Studies, *Minutes of the 38th Meeting of the Board of Postgraduate Studies and Research*, Held in the Conference Room Faculty of Agriculture, on 10 May 2000 pp. 3, 5.
125. School Postgraduate Studies, *Minutes of the 40th Meeting of the Board of Postgraduate Studies and Research*, Held on Wednesday, 1 and Continued on Thursday, 2 and Wednesday, 15 November 2000, in the Council Room and Faculty of Agriculture Conference Room: p. 8. In January 2002, the ISAE Board confirmed that 'students tend to sit near each according to their respective discussion groups to share information during examination period'. See Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, *Minutes of the Special Board of Studies Meeting*, Held on Thursday, 24 January 2002 in Room A13: p. 8.
126. Academic Registrar's Department, 'Developing Quality Assurance Framework in Makerere University', mimeo, p. 426.
127. When the Assistant Registrar in ISAE was reported to have forged the result of a student research project and the Director of the Institute refused to take any action, Senate recommended that the Academic Quality Assurance Committee investigate the way Academic Programmes and affairs were being run in the Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics. The Committee found 'that the staff at ISAE were demoralized partly by the fact that even when they report what is going wrong at the Institute, the University top Administration does not take action'. The Committee's report noted 'wide ranging irregularities' including

a case where 'over 160 students most of whom had already left the University and graduated in error'. See, Makerere University, The Academic Quality Assurance Committee, 'A Report of the Academic Quality Assurance Committee Investigating the Way Academic Programmes were Being Conducted in the Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics', mimeo, August 2002: p. 5; Makerere University, *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Committee of Deans*, Held on Wednesday, 18 and Thursday, 19 September 2002 in the Conference Hall Senate Building: pp. 66-67.

128. See Academic Registrar's Department, 'Developing Quality Assurance Framework in Makerere University', mimeo, p. 423.
129. The Senate Humanities Committee also noted 'that timetable clashes were frequent for retake examinations'. Senate Humanities Committee, *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Senate Humanities Committee*, held in the Council Room on Tuesday, 25 January 2000, p. 3. *The Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities* is attached to the *Minutes of the 111th Meeting of the Senate*, held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 30 June 1999, and Thursday, 1 July 1999, pp.14-15, 16-18.
130. Re-taking was permitted in order to: '(i) Pass if the student failed; (ii) Improve the grade if the first pass grade was low; (iii) Take a substitute elective where the student does not wish to re-take a failed elective. Students can proceed to the next semester and re-take the failed course when offered again if their fail mark is between 35% and 49% but have to have to wait and re-take the failed course if their mark is below 35%'. Makerere University, Faculty of Arts, Department of Religious Studies, 'Proposal To Introduce, Master of Arts Degree in Peace and Conflict Studies', p. 20; ESL1: 7. East African School of Library and Information Science, *Minutes of the 79th EASLIS Board of Studies Meeting*, Held on 15 May 1999 in the Seminar to Consider Diploma in Records and Archives Management (DRAM): p. 7. The School of Education Task Force on Fees for Retakes confirmed that 'students who miss examinations as a result of late payments of school fees ... have to pay the re-take fees for the courses they missed', thus adding financial penalty to financial distress! See *Minutes of the Meeting of the Task Force on Fees for Retakes*, held on 17 October 2000 to Consider Fees for Retakes: p. 1. The regulations in the Faculty of Technology stated as follows:
'd) While re-taking a course, a student shall:
(i) attend all the prescribed lectures/tutorials/Practicals/Fieldwork in the course

(ii) Satisfy all the requirements for the Course Work component in the course; and

(iii) Sit for the University examinations in the course.

(e) A student shall not be allowed to accumulate more than five (5) Retake Courses at a time..

(g) When a student has retaken a course, the better of the two grades he/she obtained in that course shall be used in the completion of his/her Cumulative Grade Point Average (CGPA).

(h) Whenever a course has been retaken, the Academic Transcript shall indicate so accordingly.' Faculty of Technology, Department of Mechanical Engineering, *Minutes of the Departmental Meeting*, Held on Monday 19 January 2004: pp.158-59.

131. Makerere University, *Minutes of the Ad Hoc Committee on Costing of Programmes in the University*, Held on Monday 20 January 2003, at 10:00 a.m. in Board Room 1, Senate Building: p. 2.
132. Senate Humanities Committee, *Minutes of the Continuation of the Special Meeting of the Senate Humanities Committee*, Held on Tuesday, 9 May 2000 in the Senior Common Room: p. 18.
133. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', mimeo, pp. 15, 22.
134. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', p. 33.
135. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', pp. 15, 22.
136. Senate Humanities, Committee, *Minutes of the Continuation of the Special Meeting of the Senate Humanities Committee*, Held on Tuesday, 9 May 2000 in the Senior Common Room: p. 18.
137. Mukwanason, A. Hyuha, 'Development of the Semester System Over the Next Five Years', mimeo, February 2000: p. 6.
138. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', p. 34.
139. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', pp. 14, 25.

140. 'A Report of the Quality Assurance Committee, Investigating Causes of Failure and Poor Performance By Students of the Faculty of Law in the Following University Examinations, 202, Administrative Authorities and 203, Equity and Trusts', mimeo, November 2000: p. 18.
141. School of Education, *Minutes of the Board of Studies Meeting*, Held at the School of Education, Room 4 on Monday, 16 and Tuesday, 24 October 2000: p. 3.
142. Faculty of Social Sciences, 'Recommendations to Makerere University Task Force on the Semester System', mimeo, September 2002, p. 8.
143. Faculty of Social Sciences, 'Recommendations to Makerere University Task Force on the Semester System', September 2002: pp. 8-9.
144. Makerere University, 'A Report of the Quality Assurance Committee Investigating Causes of Failure and Poor Performance By Students of the Faculty of Law in the Following University Examinations, 202, Administrative Authorities and 203, Equity and Trusts', November 2000, p. 8.
145. Makerere University, 'A Report of the Quality Assurance Committee Investigating Causes of Failure and Poor Performance By Students of the Faculty of Law in the Following University Examinations, 202, Administrative Authorities and 203, Equity and Trusts', November 2000, p. 14.
146. *The Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities* is attached to the *Minutes of the 111th Meeting of the Senate*, held in the Council Room on Wednesday, 30 June 1999, and Thursday, 1 July 1999: pp. 14-15, 16-18.
147. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', p. 32.
148. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', p. 26.
149. 'Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities Disciplines', p. 27.
150. *Minutes of the 118th Meeting of the Faculty Board of Law*, Held on Wednesday, 14 April 1993: p. 2.
151. For the Acting Deputy Dean's report to the Dean, see, Faculty of Law, Office of the Dean, 'The Correlation Between Failure Rates at the Faculty of Law and Subjects offered at "A" Level', mimeo, 22 November 2002: p. 1. For the Faculty Board's deliberation on the report, see p. 10.

Chapter Four

DECENTRALISATION

Decentralisation was central to the reform process from the outset. We have seen that this process unfolded in the context of dire need. When the University had nowhere else to turn to but internal resources, it called on the academic staff to mount a rescue operation in the form of private evening programmes attended by fee-paying students. To entice them to do so, it gave Faculty Boards almost total freedom of decision-making: each Faculty decided on the number of private students it would admit to *its* programmes, collected fees from those students, transferred a nominal amount to the central administration in return for services provided, and decided what to do with the fees in its possession. Initially, the Academic Registrar kept an eye on available instructional resources (space, lecturers, equipment, etc.) and put a limit on student enrolment, but that too was lifted under pressure from revenue-earning Faculties.

The consequence was a far-reaching decentralisation, both financial and administrative. The shift was dramatic and can be glimpsed from changes in the University budget. Up to 1992–1993, the University operated on a single integrated budget from which different Faculties drew their own votes. By 1995–1996, the single comprehensive University budget had been replaced by at least

13 different Faculty and Institute budgets. The revenue for these units came mainly from the admission of private students, at first exclusively in the Evening programme, but later also from the Day students. Private student fees were allocated mainly according to Faculty-level decisions. The central administration and its Finance Committee simply received financial statements (of income received and expenses paid out). The central administration received 'budget proposals' from 'income generating units', which by 2000—2001 were 38 in all. Although Council was asked to approve these, it was also cautioned that since the proposals 'were based on the number of students admitted', they might not translate into real figures 'in case some [of] students failed to report'.¹

Just as there was no single University budget—but a single budget for government-sourced funds and 38 different budgets for privately-sourced funds—so there ceased to be a single administrative body supervising the entire University. The central administration did not even pretend to service both the Day and the Evening programmes. As we have seen, it closed offices at 5 p.m., precisely the hour the Evening programme began.

A process that combined far-reaching decentralisation with deep-seated commercialisation gave rise to deep fissures at all levels: at first a competitive friction between income-earning units as each vied to attract more and more students, then between units that were income-earning and those not, be these Departments, Faculties or conglomerates of Faculties. In time, the difference between two kinds of staff, those with access to the Evening programme and those without, translated into a great rift between Humanities-based and Science-based Faculties.

A single-minded focus on revenue earned, however, hid the true cost of the reform in the revenue-earning Faculties. To appreciate the cost, we need to understand the tension between two processes integral to the reform: the financial decentralisation that was born

of commercialisation, and the spread of inter-disciplinary programmes. Simply put, whereas commercialisation set in motion a tendency to Faculty autonomy, inter-disciplinarity required greater cooperation between disciplines and therefore Faculties. The tension was evident across the board, in the crisis of 'service' courses, in the poaching of lecturers, and in turf wars over who would get to house which programme. Even though inter-disciplinarity turned into the favourite swansong of the reform, it was in reality one of its prime casualties. The flipside of this development was the fact that, rather than enriching disciplinary competence, the inter-disciplinarity born of a highly commercialised institutional culture eroded it.

In this chapter, we shall explore these tendencies as they developed over time. The first part continues the discussion in the initial chapter on the critical role of the World Bank in framing policy choices for on-line Ministries and focuses on how decentralisation became policy. The second part looks at the competitive tension between income-generating units and how it fed two parallel rushes, one towards administrative autonomy (best exemplified by the case of MUBS, Makerere University Business School) and the other towards the proliferation of multi-disciplinary vocational programmes with less and less relationship to disciplinary academic expertise. The third part focuses on the great rift between Science-based and Humanities-based Faculties. In the University's overall shift from a development-oriented to a market-driven mission, Science-based Faculties emerged as the main losers. Their response was to resist the trend to decentralisation and to demand that the Centre represent the interests of the University as a whole. To the extent that this debate came to focus on a single subject, that subject was decentralisation. If there was one issue that defined the debate, that issue was the fee distribution formula. The formula was a directive on how to divide private student fees between the Centre

and income-earning units, with guidelines on how to spend the funds retained by units. The fourth part focuses on the report of a Committee appointed by the University Council to review and revise the fee distribution formula. It turned out to be by far the most ambitious attempt to reverse the trend to decentralisation and autonomisation, and was defeated by income-earning Humanities-based Faculties threatening to stop teaching private students if their demands were not met. As we shall see, the cumulative outcome of these processes was that the University ceased to be a single institution run according to a single set of basic rules arrived at through the deliberation of its key policy-making bodies. The fifth and final part assesses the University's attempts to deepen the process of devolution by merging Faculties and Institutes to create seven Constituent Colleges.

Decentralisation Becomes Policy

Even though it began as an emergency measure, decentralisation was the subject of much deliberation before it became policy. The constituencies that lined up behind this core reform not only had different interests; they also had a different relationship to the reform process. Some deliberately pushed decentralisation as a policy, others called for it in particular instances when it appeared advantageous, and yet others adopted it in a fit of absentmindedness, content to carry on without much thought to its longer-term consequences.

Decentralisation had two important sources of ideological support in the University. Of all University officials, it was the Vice Chancellor who most often both sounded and acted as an ideological convert to the cause of 'decentralisation'. As he told the Faculty Board of Social Sciences in a meeting in January 2001, they should

not worry that different sections of the Faculty wanted to go their own separate ways since the desire for autonomy was but 'a natural tendency'.² Among the revenue-earning Faculties, it was the leadership of the Faculty of Law that most consistently pressed for 'decentralisation' as a matter of principle.

Most decision-making units at Makerere, however, tended to approach the issue in a short-term manner. Pragmatic at best and opportunistic at worst, this approach involved pushing for decentralisation when it seemed advantageous and resisting it when it did not. Perhaps there were instances of Makerere constituencies deliberating on decentralisation as a policy with long-term and system-wide consequences; if so, these must have been so rare that I could not find a single example of such a discussion in the minutes of meetings of most Faculties and Institutes for over a decade.

For the most part, both the Central Administration and income-generating units tended to relate to 'decentralisation' in an opportunistic manner. Both called for 'decentralisation' when it suited their interests and resisted it when it did not. This flip-flop attitude was most evident around two issues: responsibility for infrastructure maintenance and the conduct of examinations. As early as December 1994, the Central Administration looked for ways to 'decentralise' the maintenance of infrastructure, a responsibility it considered irksome, to individual units.³ It took six years (to April 2000) for it to convince Council to delegate responsibility for the maintenance of grounds and structures to Faculties, Halls of Residence, Schools, Institutes, etc., with the University Estates Manager being the overall supervisor of University cleanliness and maintenance.⁴

The Units were no less opportunistic in their allegiance to decentralisation, as is clear from the following example of the Faculty of Social Science which had no problem opposing decentralisation when it did not suit the Faculty's interests and calling for it as a

matter of principle when it did. Whereas the Faculty bitterly opposed central administration proposals to decentralise responsibility for undergraduate examinations,⁵ it was at the same time insistent that staff promotion be decentralised to departments. And it demanded this bit of 'decentralisation' as a matter of principle. This is how the Faculty minutes from December 1999 presented the case: 'That the University is moving towards decentralisation policy and hence the power of promoting staff should remain in the departments concerned. It is a contradiction to preach... decentralisation and practice centralisation at the same time, especially to the availability of resources'.⁶

In this context, the ideological swansong of 'decentralisation' was inevitably sung by external 'experts'. The most prominent of these was David Court, the Rockefeller Foundation representative in Nairobi who had been seconded to the World Bank. After a visit to Makerere in 1999, he wrote an 18-page memo which hailed the Makerere Reforms as '*the quiet revolution*'.⁷ The memo has been widely quoted and has become the single-most important internationally-available document on the reforms. For this reason only, it is well worth summing up its key arguments.

David Court opened *The Quiet Revolution* with a sentence underlining the overall significance of the Makerere Reform: 'One of the standing policy conundrums of Africa is how to provide good quality education to large numbers, but without undue dependence on public resources. From Makerere University in Uganda comes a startlingly instructive demonstration of new possibilities for solving this conundrum'. The next paragraph spelt out the heart of the reform: 'In the space of five years Makerere has moved from a situation where none of its students paid fees to where 60 percent do. This year the University itself generated over US \$1 million, compensating for the per capita decline in its government subvention and amounting to nearly 40 percent of total revenue'. The

document then summed up key changes ‘in the space of seven years’, i.e., the introduction of ‘demand-driven’ courses and programmes to attract more private students, leading to a ‘more intensive use of space’ (pp.4-6), and the introduction of ‘decentralised and participatory management’. ‘Of utmost importance, restructuring has brought the university greater autonomy in relation to the government which has been combined with a devolution of internal authority, Makerere has made significant steps away from hierarchical top-down management towards more inclusive representation and authority.’ The consequence has been ‘the introduction of a performance based incentive structure;’ ‘at the same time, the value-for-money demands of those who pay fees have raised standards of teaching as well as staff and student accountability.’⁸ The matter-of-fact language presented the reforms in a one-sided and uncritical manner: commercialisation as ‘market orientation’ and ‘the introduction of a performance-based incentive structure’, vocationalisation as the introduction of ‘demand-driven’ courses and programmes, and financial decentralisation—as in the next paragraph—as ‘professional and participatory management’.

David Court followed this over-the-top celebration with a question: How was this possible? And proceeded to answer: ‘The two most important philosophical factors which fuelled reforms were a powerful belief among the leadership, and everyone involved, in a market orientation and a similarly strong faith in the benefits that professional and participatory management would bring to academic as well as other institutions.’ (p. 10)

The matter-of-fact language presented the reform in a one-sided and uncritical manner. In the previous chapter and in this one, I try to show the negative if unintended consequences of the reform. As privatisation (the entry of fee-paying students) gave way to commercialisation (financial decentralisation), faculties vied with one another to attract as many fee-paying students as possible. The

result was a turf war between faculties: 'service' courses were 'domesticated' as faculties 'innovated' by 'poaching' entire programs and individual staff. While the central administration put a ban on the hiring of new staff and even required existing staff to upgrade their expertise, 'revenue-earning' faculties hired temporary staff to teach exploding student numbers in restricted spaces. Not surprisingly, it is where the reform had gone the furthest that its cumulative impact was the most adverse.

Finally, Court underlined the lessons for the World Bank and donor agencies: 'The strategic plan and package of reforms which Makerere is applying are not unlike ideas which have been disseminated by the World Bank and popularised through the Higher Education Working Group of the Association for the Development of African Education. In other places where such ideas have been imposed from outside they have led to resistance and rebuff. Makerere has made the ideas her own and applied them in her own way.' (p. 10) It was an ingenious way of translating external constraint into internal agency.

Court was not unmindful of the role of external constraints in ushering the reform, but he gave pride of place to 'the virtue of necessity.' Whereas Court viewed this in a deterministic way ('the impoverished state of the Ugandan Exchequer'), we have emphasised how the drying up of state resources was also a consequence of policy choices framed and championed by the World Bank, which not only pushed for the absolute prioritisation of primary over higher education but also insisted that the relationship between the two was adversarial.

Tensions Between Competitive Units

The university administration not only claimed that the purpose of the reform was to improve staff welfare, it backed up this claim

with measures to assure academic staff that they would not only keep the bulk of private student fees at the local level but also decide what to do with them. This single decision made for a whole set of erroneous assumptions. The first was that fees came to be considered, first and foremost, as direct returns for the labour of those teaching; the academics who did the teaching, in turn, considered it just and fair that they have the largest claim on monies collected as fees and that they should decide what to do with the portion of the fees that remained at the local level. The second, and this was a consequence of the first, was that those units which were able to attract more private students felt it only right that they should have a correspondingly large share of the pie.

The result was to set divisive tendencies into motion at the local level: first, a competitive tendency between different income-earning units and, second, a bitter rift between those able to attract private students and those unable to do so, with the more successful income-earning units claiming they were being held back by slower or less innovative colleagues and demanding autonomy for their unit. We shall look at the competition between the more successful units in this section, and examine the growing tension between them and the less successful units in the next.

From the time private programmes were introduced, revenue-earning units tended to see any transfer of funds to the centre as an imposition; in fact, many believed that the Centre made no appreciable contribution to the running of private programmes. Not surprisingly, units tried to skip payments to the Central Administration whenever they thought they could get away with it. The more this happened, the more Finance Committee minutes began to read like an account of a detective agency investigating tax evasion. Here is an entry from as early as 18 May 1993: 'That the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine especially the Ambulatory Clinic under GTZ was generating a lot of income, but that its management was

not ready to say how much and also not willing to remit the 10 percent to the central pool'. So the Finance Committee resolved that the Bursar should visit the unit!⁹ Here is another example from 29 July 1993, when the Finance Committee complained 'that the department of Anatomy had not yet released the 10 percent of their funds to the central pool of the University'.¹⁰ A general observation followed in the meeting of 12 October 1993 'that some Revenue Generating Units never submitted ... a report on their performance for the first Quarter although they had earlier been requested to do so'; that other units 'appear to have understated their revenue for the period, such as Africa Hall, Livingstone Hall'; that others needed 'to be more aggressive than before if they are to earn a lot of income', and, in general, 'that it was not always easy to get information regarding ... revenue and expenditure from some Revenue Generating Units'.¹¹

In those early years, revenue-generating units tended to be located in Science-based Faculties. But once the Humanities-based Faculties turned to a vocational orientation, things changed. The amounts involved were no longer small. For example, when the Finance Committee noted at its meeting of 20 July 1998 that 'some Faculties collecting money directly on their accounts were not honouring remittances to the centre', it gave examples of MUBS (owing shs 349,959,611) and the Faculty of Law (shs 160,188,489).¹²

As we have seen, competition for revenue translated into efforts by more successful units to become autonomous of parent units, seeing the latter as a drain on their hard-earned resources. As this trend gathered momentum, Departments turned into Institutes and separated from parent Faculties and, at least in one instance, an entire Faculty went its own way to become an independent establishment. Of course, not all Institutes were created for pecuniary reasons; in some instances, the rationale was academic. The distinction is evident from the case of three Departments—Economics,

Languages and Public Health—which were upgraded to Institute status in early 1998 under a three year transition programme whereby all were required ‘to be headed by Directors but (to) continue to operate within their respective Faculties until 2000–2001 when they would be autonomous bodies’.¹³ The rationale varied from case to case, and was academic in only one instance: only Public Health claimed that its subject-matter was so inter-disciplinary that it required operating under its own institutional umbrella. At the other extreme was the case of the Economics Department whose reasons for wanting to become an Institute were that it was teaching students from many Faculties (and not that its subject-matter was inter-disciplinary). More revealing was the second reason the Department gave, ‘that because the Unit of Economics was a Department, it was being allocated more or less the same amount of money as other Departments which had small student enrolments’, why ‘it was not possible to conduct meaningful tutorial classes ... because of the very large number of students offering Economics, particularly in the First year’, and so on.¹⁴ But this need could have been addressed without the Department becoming an Institute.

As soon as they achieved autonomy, units began to relate to one another through a cash nexus. No sooner had Economics embarked on a Council-sanctioned autonomy track than the Faculty of Social Sciences began to consider it a squatter unit, which must be evicted if it was not paying rent. So the Faculty complained that the space being occupied by the new Makerere University Institute of Economics (MUIE) was leading to a space problem in the building.¹⁵ For its part, the new Institute was now even more reluctant than before to service students belonging to other units—unless, of course, it was paid, promptly and regularly.

If Departments aspired to be Institutes, Faculties too looked for greater autonomy, particularly financial and administrative. Though

the goal they set for themselves was the same, the path they took to attain it was very much determined by the set of circumstances faced by each Faculty. This is how we can understand the difference between the two Faculties, that of Social Sciences and that of Business Studies. If the former took the lead in proposing the establishment of a College of Social and Applied Human Sciences in March of 1998,¹⁶ the latter followed a path more akin to a Unilateral Declaration of Independence.

MUBS: A Case Study

On 9 January 1998, the Minister of State for Education, Hon Captain Babu, inaugurated the merger of the National College of Business Studies (NCBS) and the former Faculty of Commerce to form Makerere University Business School (MUBS). The merger had been a Government directive—The Makerere University (Establishment of Constituent College) Order, 1997, signed by the Minister of Education, Nuwe Amanywa Mushega—to which the University had at best an ambivalent response.¹⁷ In reality, the merger turned out to be more of a takeover which the Government used as an opportunity for a house cleaning of the former College, beginning with the retrenchment of 165 employees of NCBS at Nakawa; in addition, as the Committee of Deans at Makerere noted, ‘the appointment of another one hundred employees was questionable as the Teaching Service Commission had not been responsible for their recruitment’.¹⁸

Marked by decrees and various ultimatums, the method of the takeover had all the hallmarks of Government intervention from above. The Vice Chancellor informed the Committee of Deans that ‘the Principal of the College had been told to submit a handover

report that day [i.e., 9 January 1998] so that, at a meeting scheduled for 2.30 p.m. ... the governing body of the former College would hand over powers of governance to Makerere University Council and 'the Acting Director of Makerere University Business School would assume responsibility for the budget of the former College'.¹⁹ An underground leaflet circulated among academic staff and students raised questions suggesting there was a hidden agenda and hidden interests behind these developments.²⁰ In another five years, the Makerere University Business School had become an independent entity for all practical purposes.

Although the friction between the University and MUBS was front page news in the daily press in Kampala, and the separation between the two was enacted in the press as a bitter drama with an indeterminate ending, it is in retrospect clear that the fact of separation (as opposed to the manner in which it was effected) had already been contemplated as a policy outcome—a part of the overall policy of decentralisation—before the Faculty of Commerce moved to the Nakawa campus. That outcome was explicitly recommended by the 18 August 1997 Report of the *Expert Group on the Rationalisation of Business Education in Uganda*. The Report made it clear that the process had been set in motion as a Government response to the academic staff strike of 1996: 'Following the Academic Staff Association (ASA) strike at National College of Business Studies (NCBS) on January 16, 1996, the Minister of Education commissioned a Task Force to look into the affairs of the College and more particularly staff matters, admissions, the quality of programmes and management of the evening programmes'. And further: 'As a result of the report of the Task Force ... the Minister of Education proposed to merge the NCBS and Faculty of Commerce (FOC), Makerere into a Business School' to 'take place in time for the 1997–1998 academic year'.²¹ The Report made three recommendations regarding 'the organisational structure of the new institution', to

be called MUBS: (a) 'that MUBS shall initially be established within the framework of Makerere University administrative and academic structures'; (b) that 'within a period of three years, MUBS shall become a Constituent College of Makerere University'; and (c) that 'MUBS shall produce a programme that shall be used to achieve constituency college status at the end of the three years'.²²

In practice, however, the separation was enacted more as an act of betrayal than as the implementation of a policy decision. For this, there were several reasons: while the University Administration supported and even drove the programme of 'decentralisation' within the confines of the University, it recoiled from the full logic of 'decentralisation' as the MUBS saga unfolded. Not surprisingly, the Central Administration resisted the outcome with all the influence at its disposal. In response, the MUBS leadership turned to the then Vice President of the country and even to the State House, urging intervention. The political establishment obliged and intervened through Directives, including appointments made on media, instead of letting the law take its course.

Even before MUBS moved to Nakawa, its leadership had complained about remitting funds to Makerere University. The Finance Committee of the University complained as early as July of 1998 that MUBS was not honouring commitments to the Centre, already totalling shs 349,959,611.²³ As soon as MUBS moved to the Nakawa campus in September of 1999, it asked to be exempted from paying two charges on fees collected from students: maintenance (five percent) and library fees (five percent). The Finance Committee granted the first but deferred the second to the library committee.²⁴

As relations between MUK and MUBS deteriorated, the Vice Chancellor decided to use his residual powers in the transition period to change the leadership of the new institution by appointing a new academic and administrative staff, including the deputy to its

Director. The minutes of the April 2000 Council meeting noted 'that the working relationship between the Administration and the Director, MUBS, continued to deteriorate sharply as demonstrated by his refusal to receive duly appointed MUBS senior staff, diverting payment of students' fees from the University Collection Account and refusal to attend Council meetings on invitation'.²⁵

That same meeting decided that the Chairperson and Vice Chairperson of the University Council should mediate between the warring parties, by talking in turn to the Principal (of MUBS) and the Vice Chancellor (of MUK).²⁶ Put together, their story gives a rare insight not only into how the movement towards autonomy degenerated into a power struggle but also how both the relevant line Ministry and State House intervened in this power struggle. Immediately, this tug-of-war focused on who would head MUBS, since its leadership was in the hands of the Acting Director. According to him, 'Makerere University Council directed that the position of the Principal/Director be advertised' even though it was 'supposed to be elective'. He also claimed that 'at the meeting of the Central Executive, he, Balunywa, was accused by the Vice Chancellor of inciting staff to strike', and 'of reporting the Vice Chancellor to the Minister'. Rather than retaliate, 'he took leave after that meeting in January 1999—to the end of March'. But 'before the end of his leave he was called by the President and reinstated as Principal of MUBS'.²⁷ The Vice Chancellor's view was that due process had been thwarted by Mr Balunywa with direct assistance from State House: 'The Appointments Board short-listed Dr Bachu as Director of MUBS. Before Dr Bachu could be appointed, State House made a Statutory Instrument appointing Waswa Balunywa as Principal. Thereafter he became recalcitrant and antagonistic to the Makerere Administration. MUBS started a campaign in the Newspapers against the Makerere Administration.'²⁸

The leadership conflict was resource-driven. The key issue was how fees paid by private students at MUBS should be divided between it and the Central Administration. After all was said and done, MUBS's defiance of MUK leadership turned on the question of finances: 'The Principal said his decision to open a different account for MUBS was made with the permission of the Minister of Education. So far as he was concerned, there was no breach of regulations. He said MUBS produced 1/3 of the budget of Makerere University and should therefore be reckoned with. That MUBS should have a say in how the money was to be used and no other organ should determine how MUBS money was to be used.' It is important to realise that the issue of finances was not just a contingent one; the Principal made it clear that this was a question of principle, of who should decide how to spend fees from private students, the teaching unit or the Central Administration: 'He said, decisions on deductions were made without consultations with Faculties ... Mr Balunywa was of the view that deductions going to the Centre should not exceed 25 percent of the revenue of Faculties ... He said there should be a Committee of Deans to apportion how monies generated by Faculties should be used. The Vice Chancellor should only initiate the budget for money which is centrally administered.'²⁹ Mr Balunywa's views may have been extreme, but they were not exceptional. Besides the ludicrous equation of 'the budget of Makerere University' with fees paid by privately-sponsored students, he assumed that private student fees were a just return for the labour of those who directly taught these students. As subsequent events would show, these views were more than shared by the revenue-earning Faculties at Makerere. If they disagreed, it was more likely to be on how he had pursued his objectives than on the objectives themselves.

Matters took a turn for the worse with the enactment of *The Universities and other Tertiary Institutions Act, 2001*. Having failed

to curtail the autonomy of MUBS, the University changed tack, seeking to undercut the operation of the School, claiming that the new Act ‘had transformed it [MUBS] into an Affiliated Tertiary Institution thereby making it independent of the University particularly in matters related to administration, organisational structure and finance’.³⁰ Accordingly, it refused to transfer operating funds to the MUBS account at the beginning of the academic year 2003–2004. As a result, MUBS failed to open its doors to students in September. When the relevant Ministries (Education, Finance) invited the University to attend a meeting to address the issue, the University ‘declined to do so because MUBS was independent of the University’. When Finance pointed out the facts of the matter—that ‘funds for both Makerere and MUBS students had been allocated to the University which was expected to send to MUBS its share’—the University Council insisted on the principle at stake, that ‘Makerere had an independent budget from that of MUBS’.³¹ The issue was resolved when Finance made a supplementary advance of shs 1,115,080 to MUBS and froze the same amount from the Makerere budget.

But this was not the end of the saga. Having soured on the separation, the university was determined to make a clean break of it, even if this should poison relations in the period to come. This became clear when the question arose as to whether or not MUBS could continue to have representation on the Makerere Council as an affiliated institution. Whereas the Solicitor-General advised the Ministry of Education that the amendment to the Act ‘did not prevent MUBS sitting on both the Makerere University Council and Senate’, Council disagreed, and insisted on denying MUBS any representation.³² MUBS responded with a court case.

It is at that point—on 2 November 2004—that the President of Uganda stepped in, this time as a mediator. A high level meeting was held that day with the President as Chair and a bevy of officials

in attendance: cabinet members (the Prime Minister, the Attorney General, and the Minister of Education and Sports), civil servants (high officials from the Ministry and the National Council for Higher Education), and top officials from both Makerere and MUBS (the Vice Chancellor and the Deputy Vice Chancellors of MUK, the Principal of MUBS, and the University Secretary and Academic Registrar from both). This is how the result of the meeting was summed up in Senate minutes the following month:³³

That the following decisions were made:

- (a) That MUBS should withdraw the case from court;
- (b) That MUBS should remain an affiliated Institution of Makerere University;
- (c) That MUBS should develop its own Logo and Name;
- (d) That MUBS should be represented on Makerere University Senate;
- (e) That MUK be represented on MUBS Council and Academic Board;
- (f) That issues related to B. Com. External and MBA programmes should be resolved between MUK, MUBS, Ministry of Education and Sports, and National Council for Higher Education;
- (g) That some of what was agreed on with the President of Uganda were principles which should await amendment of the ACT.

One wonders as to what this meeting achieved: a conciliation or a face-saving postponement? For the fact was that a full year before that meeting, Makerere University had already begun to take steps to establish an alternative business faculty on the main campus. It would differ from MUBS only in that it would bear a different name: the Faculty of Economics and Management. It is worth looking in full at the proposal made by the Special Board Meeting

of the Institute of Economics to the Academic Programmes and Library Committee of the Senate of 18 September 2003, and the response of the Senate Committee.³⁴ The proposal had two parts to it. The first called for the introduction of seven different programmes, three General B.A. (Management, Human Resource Management, Business Administration), three Bachelor of Commerce specialisations (Accounting, Marketing, Insurance) and a Bachelor of Banking and Finance. The 'justification' was 'to fill the gap left after MUBS was transformed into an affiliated Institute', the logic being that 'since MUBS was an affiliated independent Institution, Makerere University can conduct programmes similar to those at MUBS'. Whereas this could be reason to begin a Business School at Makerere, it was hardly reason for what had been a disciplinary department of Economics (now an Institute) to begin to teach professional business courses.

One needs to bear in mind that there were two different issues at stake in the proposal from the Economics Board. The first was the need for a Business curriculum to be taught at Makerere with MUBS becoming a separate though affiliated institution. The second concerned who was competent to teach these courses: Should they be taught by those teaching the discipline of Economics or by a professional Business School? The Board, and the Senate Committee, addressed the first question but not the second. After the Arts proposal in 1996–1997, the Economics proposal presented the University Senate with a second turning point in its decade long history of reforms. The Senate Committee 'discussed and agreed' that 'the Institute of Economics should with effect from 2004–2005 conduct courses leading to award of Bachelor of Commerce Degree', and that it should also 'take over from MUBS the handling of academic content of Bachelor of Commerce (External) programme with effect from 2004–2005'.

The second part³⁵ of the proposal from the Board revealed its ambitions more fully: 'to transform the Institute into a College of Economics and Management'. And the response of the Senate Committee revealed the extent to which its perspective was wanting. The Senate Committee turned down the proposal not on disciplinary grounds but only because 'the Institute of Economics does not have a campus of its own to be called a Constituent College'. It thus recommended to Senate that 'the Institute of Economics be transformed to the status of a Faculty of Economics and Management ... with effect from 2004–2005 academic year', the implication being that it could become a Constituent College when it did acquire a campus of its own. Significantly, all recommendations of the Senate Academic Programmes and Library Committee were passed by the full Senate at its 199th meeting on 1 April 2004.

The Great Divide Between Science-Based and Humanities-Based Faculties

The Reform affected a decisive shift in the mission of the University from a development-oriented to a market-driven university. The development-oriented University had prioritised a research-based development of the sciences. In contrast, the market-driven university reversed priorities from a research to a vocational university, shifting emphasis from a science to a humanities-based education. Development and market represented two very different and opposed relationships between supply and demand. The point of a development-oriented university was to produce skills adequate to correcting the distortions of a colonial economy. In contrast, a market-driven university tended to slot into and reproduce these distortions. To put it in the language of economists, development-orientation prioritised supply in the design of the University and

its curriculum, but market-driven came to privilege demand. From a developmentalist perspective, market-orientation tended to reproduce uncritically the distortions of the market, especially those historically created through a colonial experience.

The shift from the old development-oriented to the current market-oriented university is best captured by contrasting science-based and humanities-based Faculties, both in terms of their student intake and in their respective budgets. A total of 2,186 students were admitted into Makerere University in 1992–1993; within ten years, the annual intake had increased to 9,241 (see Table 5). This was an increase of 323 percent. Fifty-seven percent (1152 students) of the 1992–1993 class was admitted into four humanities-based Faculties: Arts, Education, Social Science and MUBS. In a decade, the numbers admitted into these four Faculties had swollen to 6,713, which was 72.6 percent of all those admitted into the university that year. The figures for the five science-based Faculties (Science, Technology, Medicine, Veterinary Medicine, Agriculture and Forestry) numbered 660 in 1992–1993 and 1336 in 2001–2002. The proportion of the total admitted shrank from 31.1 percent to 14.4 percent within a decade.

A single set of figures contrasting the changing position of all science-based Faculties against only the Faculty of Arts will help illustrate how dramatic was the change. In 1992–1993, 364 (14.3 percent) students were admitted to the Faculty of Arts. The numbers had exploded to 2,550 in 2001–2002. Not only was this figure more than the entire class (2,186) admitted to all Faculties in the University in 1992–1993, it was nearly twice the number of students (1,336) admitted to all science-based Faculties in 2001–2002. Put differently, all the students admitted to six science-based Faculties (with the separation of Agriculture and Forestry into two Faculties) that year were just a little more than half (52.4 percent) the students admitted to the Faculty of Arts.

The shifting financial fortunes of Science-based and Humanities-based Faculties were even more dramatic, as we can gauge from the following two tables.

Table 13: Recurrent Budget Votes for University Units, 1990–91

Faculty/School/Institute	Vote
Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry	33,069,156
Faculty of Arts	19,027,902
Faculty of Commerce	9,490,387
Faculty of Law	6,014,263
Faculty of Science	73,759,819
Faculty of Social Sciences	17,553,235
Faculty of Technology	60,700,643
Faculty of Veterinary Medicine	28,253,841
School of Education	19,524,368
School of Fine Art	3,807,529
School of Medicine	58,782,850
Centre for Continuing Education	6,357,027
East African School of Librarianship	1,707,779
Institute of Computer Science	1,661,067
Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics	3,205,163
Grand Total	342,915,029

Source: Makerere University Recurrent Budget Proposals, 1990–1991

The vote of the Faculty of Arts was 19,027,902 shs in 1990–1991. This was a mere 8.7 percent of the combined vote of the five science-based Faculties, being 219,944,153 shs in 1990–1991.

Table 14: Annual Faculty Income by Year, 1993–1994 to 2000–2001

Faculty/Institute/School	1993/1994	1994/1995	1995/1996	1996/1997	1997/1998	1998/1999	1999/2000	2000/2001	2001/2002	2002/2003	2000/2001
<i>Agribusiness</i>			103,968,314	134,747,845	120,215,288	148,689,328		360,739,197			
<i>Arts</i>		96,542,604	119,839,600	647,732,600	1,325,210,000/ -	2,448,530,000		4,973,238,783			1
<i>E&SLIS</i>			44,486,000	82,480,570	82,943,375			315,070,231			10
<i>Education</i>		48,111,600	160,971,000	315,555,000	502,259,547			1,359,159,411			2
<i>Forestry</i>								81,087,011	56,980,700	213,324,480	17
<i>LACE</i>	128,000,000	254,400,000	252,000,000		424,147,426	1,203,742,500		1,390,638,960			
<i>IGS</i>	44,995,402	75,308,308	45,931,944		69,998,412	54,605,928		47,005,511			19
<i>JS&E</i>		78,255,100	188,965,299		218,917,074	266,619,960	324,116,727	298,518,908			11
<i>Law</i>	155,028,500	191,009,910	668,225,000		549,026,590	628,343,433	617,303,240	779,459,115	919,966,971	1,058,337,723	5
<i>Medicine</i>				39,970,993	143,446,743	192,114,450		348,308,977			9
<i>MTS/F&A</i>	6,395,712	21,170,005	36,113,874	53,408,128	53,229,970		66,588,399	70,842,744			18
<i>MUBS</i>	228,494,000	411,741,000	783,879,000	1,052,066,000	1,434,006,998	2,805,010,000					
<i>MUIE</i>					41,958,457	428,790,777	429,640,209	504,115,529			6
<i>MUIPH</i>											
<i>MUIPSY</i>											
<i>Science</i>	50,140,360	50,683,000	66,934,970		102,235,998	159,659,000	207,599,407	258,996,430	196,902,513		12
<i>Social Science</i>	88,712,441	114,893,232			862,286,234	1,371,207,293	920,322,182	1,029,730,410	1,025,080,998	745,996,783	3
<i>Technology</i>		44,848,431	73,841,876	155,924,400	236,875,560	306,800,000	401,494,400	473,701,052			7
<i>Veterinary Medicine</i>					59,322,000	37,369,600		177,996,111			13
<i>M&P&M</i>			120,818,544	251,310,580	155,079,792	147,035,994		160,955,940			15
<i>Automotive Department</i>	8,129,613	6,408,000	16,500,000	9,614,000	17,398,000	21,647,000		25,729,000			20
<i>S&S Science Department</i>				33,486,500	4,590,000						
<i>M.A.-ASPM</i>					29,831,950	76,356,515	209,430,000	82,052,320			16
<i>M.A.-Sociology</i>									14,903,351		
<i>D.W.-G.</i>											21
<i>MUIL</i>								16,024,025			14

Source: Income Generating Units Income and Expenditure Statements in the Bursar's Office

If we consider income from private student fees, the income of the Faculty of Arts had dramatically grown to 4,973,238,783 shs in a decade. In contrast, the combined income of the original five Science-based Faculties (now grown into six) *and* the independent income-earning units of Anatomy and Soil Sciences paled into a mere 34.7 percent of that total. One now gets an idea of the influence and of the power that the Faculty of Arts wielded in the university as a whole. Of the Faculty of Arts, it could be said at the close of the second millennium as was said of General Motors in the US at the close of the Second World War: 'What was good for General Motors was good for the United States'.

We can now understand why, as it gathered pace, commercialisation split Faculties into two camps and the split began to reflect a disciplinary divide between Humanities-based and Science-based Faculties. The more the tension between these conglomerates became public, the more it became clear that their interests diverged on key policy issues. The most divisive policy issue was that of decentralisation. Just as revenue-earning units fervently supported decentralisation as the heart of the reform, non-revenue earning units increasingly called for an enhanced role for the Centre alongside a demand that the Centre assure greater fairness and justice in the running of the University. The difference became public around a single issue: the fee distribution formula, which referred both to the ratio for dividing private student fees between the Faculty or Institute in which they were enrolled and the Centre, and a decision as to how the balance was to be spent. To follow the ongoing debate on these questions is to realise the close connection between two issues that may otherwise seem separate: the transfer of revenue to the Centre and its redistribution between units.

The Fee Distribution Formula

Simply put, the fee distribution formula was a ratio that indicated how private student fees would be divided between the central administration and revenue-earning units. I have been able to identify five major shifts (and a sixth potential shift) in the Distribution Formula for fees collected from private students, initially enrolled in Evening programmes, but later also in Day programmes.

Table 15: The Fee Distribution Formula as It Evolved,
1992–1993 to 2003–2004

		Faculty/School/Institute	Centre
1992–1993	Day ³⁶	70	30
	Evening ³⁷	90	10
First Major Change			
1993–1994	Day ³⁸	70	30
	Evening ³⁹	85	15
1994–1995	Day ⁴⁰	70	30
	Evening ⁴¹	90	10
1995–1996	Day		
	Evening		
Second Major Change			
1996–1997	Day ⁴²	65	35
	Evening ⁴³	85	15
Third Major Change			
1997–1998	Day ⁴⁴	55	45
	Evening ⁴⁵	75	25
Fourth Major Change			
1998–1999	Day ⁴⁶	46.75	53.25
	Evening	63.75	36.25
1999–2000	Day ⁴⁷	46	54
	Evening ⁴⁸	63	37
2000–2001	Day ⁴⁹	46	54
	Evening ⁵⁰	63	37
Fifth Major Change			
2001–2002	Day ⁵¹	51	49
	Evening ⁵²	59	41
2002–2003	Day	51	49
	Evening	59	41

The sixth proposed change came when Council proposed 'a reduction of 26.4 percent on all administrative/top-up, responsibility allowances, in order to finance the proposed increment of salary to all staff'.⁵³

Let us begin with a brief narrative of these shifts and the reasons behind each. When the University decided to go beyond operating 'commercial units' to developing 'income generating' units—including academic units that generated income by introducing programmes for private students—the incentive was that the Centre would retain only 30 percent of the fees paid by private students admitted into regular Day courses, thereby transferring 70 percent of all earnings to teaching units.⁵⁴ But for those units introducing private Evening programmes, the share of the Centre would be a mere ten percent with the unit in question keeping 90 percent of all private student fees. The details were spelt out by Council at its meeting of 17 December 1992.⁵⁵ From then on, there was a constant tug-of-war between the revenue-earning units and the Centre, itself under growing pressure from units failing to attract private students that it redistribute private student fees.

The first major revision of the fee-sharing formula was effected in 1993–1994 for private students in Evening programmes, with five percent going to the Library, the share of the unit being reduced to 85 percent and that of the Centre remaining constant at ten percent.⁵⁶

In another year, Deans and Directors of revenue-earning units had emerged as a force with a distinct financial interest and an agenda to reorganise their units along corporate lines. The Senate meeting of 25 May 1995 demonstrated their ability to wield the Senate as a forum to reflect their own special interest, particularly when it diverged from that of the Faculties and Institutes they represented. The issue in that meeting concerned the share of private student fees that the Office of the Dean and Director could claim

from their Unit. Senate recommended to the Finance Committee that when a private student pays fees, '15 percent of money transferred to each Faculty/Institute should be paid to the office of the Dean/Director and the remaining money should be shared equally between the Departments which teach the student'.⁵⁷ One may wonder why Deans or Directors had decided to waive their customary demand for local control in favour of a policy that would apply uniformly to all Units, without exception—and would be excused for thinking that this would only make sense in a context in which they were not certain of a favourable outcome if the issue were left to their respective Units to decide.

Senate further revised these numbers in less than six months (at its meeting of 1 September 1995) when it suggested that 35 percent of Day fees relinquished by units be divided as follows: Staff Development 10 percent, Central Administration 20 percent, Library 5 percent, with the Faculty getting 65 percent.⁵⁸ The proposal was approved by the 71st meeting of Council sitting in November–December 1995.⁵⁹ The interesting thing about this resolution was that it contained two parts. The first concerned the division of private student fees between the Centre (35 percent) and the Faculty (65 percent), but the second confirmed the existing division of revenues going to Faculties and Institutes between the Office of the Dean or Director (15 percent) and the Departments teaching the relevant private programme (85 percent).⁶⁰ This leg of the resolution confirmed the ability of Deans and Directors to keep a constant office claim (15 percent) on unit incomes—in spite of a decline in the Faculty or Institute share of total fees.

A common policy for distributing all private fees, Evening or Day, was instituted in 1996–1997, when the ratio was revised, with a division of 65 percent to unit, five percent to the library and 30 percent to the Centre.⁶¹

The December 1996 meeting of the Social Science Faculty Board discussed the Council decision to deduct a further ten percent from Faculty incomes and recorded three objections. The first concerned matters of policy. The Faculty smelt a rat, noting that ‘there is no clear goal and definite ceiling for the ultimate deduction by the University Council on the Faculty incomes’. It raised the spectre of what would happen in the Faculty if the deductions increased. Already, ‘for the month of Oct 1996, a total deduction of Shs 123,072,825 was effected out of a total income of Shs 234,216,000’, and ‘that if such deductions continue, then the programme will collapse because teachers and teaching equipments/facilities cannot be sustained’. The next two objections concerned questions of fairness as they affected relations with the Centre and with non-revenue earning Units. The Board wondered why the Central Administration was not shouldering a greater responsibility commensurate with its share of resources: should the Centre, which was already deducting 45 percent of private fees, not provide ‘a greater proportion of central services, especially provision of free teaching space and payment of lecturers’ allowances’? Alternately, should not the Centre target those of its internal units—such as the Academic Registrar’s Office—which were habitually guzzling a steady flow of funds but without providing equivalent services? Surely, fairness demanded ‘that the 10 percent deductions on the Faculty incomes should be from the incomes of the Academic Registrar’s Office’ which appropriates ‘100 percent of the examination funds, and the registration fees when 95 percent of the examination and registration tasks is carried out by the Faculties’. Surely, no greater proof was needed of ‘a lack of transparency from the Finance Department relating to the objectives justifying these deductions and how the money has been utilised for the stated objectives’. The flip side of the question of fairness concerned relations with non-revenue earning Faculties, ‘that many Faculties do not generate income and yet are

reaping free income at the cost of a few Faculties whose members work 12 hours a day, for seven days a week'.⁶²

The third major change in the fee redistribution formula occurred at the Council meeting of April 1997.⁶³ The focus was now on Evening students who far outnumbered private students in the Day programme. Council resolved that Faculties and Institutes retain 75 percent—not the hitherto 85 percent—of the total with ten percent going to the central pool, another ten percent to the Wage Fund and five percent to the Library.

When the proposal to allocate ten percent of private student fees towards a Staff Development Fund was re-introduced, the debate on fairness and justice flared once again. We can return to the record of the Social Science Faculty Board, particularly to its 29 August 1997 Emergency Meeting, to follow the course of the debate. This time the Board did not complain about the rationale for a fund to meet the cost of staff development, but about the fairness of using that fund for the development of academic staff in every unit, whether or not the Unit in question had contributed to the fund. The Minutes recorded the complaint that 'some Faculties do not generate income and yet the proposed scheme is to benefit all', and then follow with recommendations that 'Faculties should benefit from this Fund according to their weighted inputs'; indeed, 'representation to the Staff Development Committee should be according to contribution by Faculties' so that 'those with more contributions should be seen to have more stake and therefore should have more "shares"'. Finally, Board members returned to their favourite target, the Academic Registrar's Office, recommending that anything from ten to 25 percent 'of the funds generated by the Academic Registrar's Department should be contributed towards the Staff Development Fund'.⁶⁴

Clearly, how the income from private student fees (particularly in the Evening programme, which was where most private students

were registered) was to be divided had become the hottest potato in the University. It did not just pit academic Units against the administrative Centre, but split the units down the middle: between those revenue-earning and those not. Whereas the former strove to retain their revenues at base as a way of augmenting the pay of those who were doing the actual teaching on the ground, the latter were increasingly concerned about the growing disparity in income between two different kinds of academic units. That the former were mainly Humanities-based and the latter mainly Science-based did not help matters. Several reports and recommendations were afloat, including one from 1998–1999 that suggested that only 30 percent of fees return to the unit concerned whether for day or evening programme.⁶⁵

It is this tension that led to the fourth major change in the fee distribution formula for 1998–1999. This is how the new policy was communicated to units:⁶⁶

The new policy for 1998–1999 is that before distribution is made the following provision (out of the total revenue) should be made:

5 percent for Maintenance of Buildings

10 percent for Retirement Benefit

The balance becomes 100 percent and distribution is as follows:

...

Day Programmes

Percent Transferred

Faculty or Department 55 percent

Staff Development 10 percent

Wage Bill Top-up 10 percent

Central Activities 10 percent

Library 5 percent

Evening/Masters/External Programmes (Evening Pure)

	Percent Transferred
Faculty or Department	75 percent
Wage Bill Top-Up	10 percent
Central Activities	10 percent
Library	5 percent.

The manner of presentation of figures disguised a simple fact: the unit share of Day fees had declined from 55 percent to 46.75 percent, and of Evening fees from 75 percent to 63.75 percent!

Two years later followed a fifth major change, recommended by an ad hoc Committee of the Finance Committee of Council, chaired by Professor Turyagenda of the Institute of Applied Statistics, and was approved by Council at its September 2000 meeting. The Turyagenda Committee was charged with looking into and streamlining 'the top-up, extra load and any other allowances paid in the University'. Although its implementation was aborted by the collective opposition of revenue-earning Faculties and Institutes, the Turyagenda Committee report brought the relevant issues to the surface with greater clarity and comprehensiveness than ever before.

The Turyagyenda Committee Report

On 2 October 2000, Avitus K. M. Tibarimbasa, the Secretary to Council, wrote a circular to all Deans, Directors, Heads of Departments and Wardens. Attached to the circular was a copy of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of Finance on Streamlining the top-up, extra load and any other allowances paid in the University. The report had been approved by the University Council

at its 85th meeting, held on 14, 15 August, and 18 September 2000. The Secretary informed the heads: 'The decisions within the report take effect from October 01, 2000'. Clearly, the Council was in no mood to listen to responses from academic units, nor to take any chances. The report detailed varied practices throughout the university: '28 different types of allowances are paid in the University, but Top-up and Teaching (extra load) allowances were the most popular'. Payment was not uniform, but was based on 'input and salary scale'.

The disparities were both within and between units: 'some units were able to pay Top-up to everybody, whereas the majority of the units were unable to pay everybody'. (pp. 2, 3) Within the same unit, some were getting *no* allowances; among those being paid allowances, some were getting as low as 10,000 shs a month, and some others as high as 5,000,000 shs a month. The report divided all units into four categories:⁶⁷

- (i) Units that had not been able to generate funds and so no one had been paid. No teaching units were included in this category, which included the Security Department and religious institutions (churches/mosque).
- (ii) Units generating some money but no one was paid any allowance. This category included three key Science-based Faculties: Medicine, Forestry, and Science (and two others, the Estates Department and Students' Guild).
- (iii) Units which made money but paid only some people: The largest number of units was included here. They were Humanities-based [Arts, Economics, Women Studies, MAPAM, Education, I.A.C.E.], Science-based [Veterinary Medicine, Agriculture, Computer Science, Anatomy, Soil Science, University Hospital], and non-teaching institutions such as hostels and parts of the

central establishment [Sports and Recreation, Food Board, Academic Registrar's Department].

- (iv) Units where everyone is paid some allowance: These included several Humanities-based Faculties and institutes [MUBS, Law, Social Science, industrial and Fine Art, Librarianship and Information Science], one Science-based Faculty [Technology] and central institutions [Postgraduate Studies, Dean of Students, Central Pool].

The highest internal disparities were in units flush with funds: the Finance Department (where the lowest allowance paid was 60,000 and the highest 3,300,000 shs); the Academic Registrar's Office (60,000 and 3,400,000); the Central Pool (60,000 and 3,900,000); and in some of the highest revenue-earning teaching units such as Arts (0 and 1,500,000); MUBS (130,000 and 5,000,000); and Law (112,000 and 1,072,714).⁶⁸ The report also detailed some malpractices. Of particular note were those in the payment of extra load allowance which 'allowed some administrators to favour certain individuals'.⁶⁹

The report confirmed a growing chasm between Science-based and Humanities-based units: 'The idea of all Units paying uniform rates for common activities such as marking, teaching and setting examinations was highly supported by Science-based Faculties (30.4 percent). It was, however, opposed by over 43.5 percent of the total units visited and these were basically the Humanities-based Faculties'.⁷⁰ Feelings in revenue-earning units ran high against those not earning revenue, as expressed in the following comments: 'That those not generating money are lazy and lack innovation and should be left to "die",' or simply 'They lack creativity'.⁷¹

The main recommendations of the Committee were guided by two objectives: one, to give maximum priority to staff welfare and two, within that context, to devise a system of allowances to ensure

fairness and parity with an eye on work done. Towards those ends, it recommended (a) creating a University-wide Top-up allowance 'paid to every employee based on salary scales', (b) continuing an Extra-load allowance 'paid according to input (i.e., hours worked), (c) paying a Responsibility allowance to every member of staff, from 15,000 to the lowest support staff to 60,000 to the highest academic and administrative staff, and (d) reviving Deanship/Headship allowances.⁷² To its credit, the Committee recognised that a centralised system of allowances would only work if hiring and firing were centralised and so recommended that 'all the staff in the university should be appointed by the University Appointments Board'; 'that maximum hours for teaching especially in every programme be set and observed'; and 'Council should put up standard rates of hiring internal space, i.e., classrooms'.⁷³

At the heart of the Committee's report was the recommendation to adopt a new distribution formula that (a) would apply to all fees, whether for Day or Evening programmes, (b) leave 50 percent of total revenue with revenue-earning units, and (c) specify the budgetary lines for which these monies might be spent, thereby depriving units of the powers they had hitherto enjoyed to decide how to spend funds.⁷⁴

The Turyagyenda Committee recommendations were the first comprehensive attempt to address some of the most negative consequences of the decentralisation process set in motion with the onset of the reform process in the early 1990s—but without challenging the reform process itself. The thrust of the Committee's recommendations was to reverse the trend to a Faculty-based fragmentation by initiating two key reforms: first, uniform university-wide rules for hiring and remuneration of *all* academic staff and, second, initiating a trend towards restoring a single university-wide budget. In spite of its reformist vision and analytical clarity, the report proved toothless because its supporters could not muster the

political capacity needed to implement its recommendations. This failure, in turn, resulted from an attempt to bring about change in a top-down fashion in a context where far-reaching decentralisation had already eroded the power of the Centre to dictate the content and pace of developments from on high. Abandoned by government, the University was increasingly at the mercy of its revenue-earning units, which were increasingly driven by the corporatised vision of Deans and Directors; it was a vision shaped by short-term interests and backed by Faculty Boards with a narrow calculation of cost and benefit and little sense of alternatives. To be sure, one can identify individual Deans and Directors who may have acted otherwise on particular issues, but these were exceptions that did not alter the trend. In this context, any meaningful change would have required a double strategy: on the one hand, a clear understanding that the stake-holders in this public University were not simply internal, not just the staff and students, but also the public; on the other hand, a concerted effort to build consensus among the internal stake-holders, staff and students, through a wide-ranging debate that would clarify the real costs of a highly commercialised strategy propelled by narrow short-term interests, and thus rally the majority against the narrow corporatised vision shared by some Deans and Directors.

At first impression, it would seem that the reform had divided Makerere sharply into clear winners and losers, with mainly the Humanities-based Faculties in the winning category and mainly the Science-based Faculties as the losers. After all, was not the flow of private students, and thus of fees paid by them, mainly to the Humanities? Was not this trend increasingly reflected in figures—of student numbers and Faculty budgets, and of rent of space from Science-based to Humanities-based Faculties—that highlighted the growing disparity between these two academic communities? And was not this development reflected in a growing antagonism between the two? These facts were real but they did not quite reflect deeper

developments, particularly the price paid by the Humanities-based Faculties, where the teaching load had dramatically exploded from eight to anywhere upwards of sixteen hours a week, so that it left lecturers with no time for meaningful research, and where vocationalisation was making deep inroads into the academic curriculum. As these trends gathered momentum, it was the Science-based Faculties, and no longer those Humanities-based, which stood for a research-based academic tradition as central to the pursuit of excellence. Seen from this vantage point, there were no winners in the Makerere reform, only different kinds of losers.

Instead of a great debate that clarified alternatives, the Faculties at Makerere were bitterly divided in a game they increasingly perceived as zero-sum. Part of the explanation lay in their isolation. Except for a few sensational developments, the public was unaware of the deep-seated changes happening at Makerere. The Government had, for all practical purposes, abdicated responsibility for higher education and was content to treat the University as a private preserve of those working in it, mainly the Faculty, and to let them, so to say, stew in their own juices. In this context, the Committee, and the Council which backed it, had chosen the route of top-down change. The choice was not surprising in that it reflected a long-standing tradition in state-controlled higher education, but it was unfortunate for its consequence was further to deepen rather than heal the fissures opened by commercialisation and vocationalisation.

Revenue-Earning Faculties Protest

The charge of the revenue-earning Faculties was led by the Faculty of Law and was announced with an ultimatum. The statement was drafted at the Board meeting of 17 January 2001. Signed by both

the new and the previous Dean, both MUASA stalwarts, it was short, to the point, and transparent. The opening sentence made clear that it was money, more than anything else, that was at the heart of the matter: the signatories of the ultimatum ‘noted that the major implication of the [Turyagyenda Committee] decision is to take more money to the Centre and accordingly reduce money available to the units’, when ‘we are currently contributing about 45 percent of our privately-earned income to the central administration without receiving any meaningful service from the Centre’.

Then followed a set of ‘demands’, staggered to ensure a stage-by-stage implementation, first immediately, and then within a week. Just in case the meaning of ‘immediate’ had not registered with the target audience: ‘the Board demands ... as a first step, implementation of the new decision should be suspended forthwith pending realistic and democratic consultations with all stakeholders, including students with a view to further decentralisation and not constriction of the University’, and further, it demanded that ‘within one week all faculty funds debited under the new scheme be refunded’. The Board was not only demanding ‘democratic consultations’; it wanted the consultations to lead to a particular outcome: ‘further decentralisation’. On the former, it was on firm and principled ground; but as to the latter demand, its ground was transparently opportunistic.

The letter closed with a threat, in case Council failed ‘to take action on the above demands’. The threat too was staggered, starting with suspending the examination process in the Faculty for Semester One, suspension of teaching in all privately funded programmes in Semester Two, and refusal to admit any new privately-funded students the following academic year.⁷⁵

Other Faculties followed suit. If the Faculty of Law had all eyes on the size of its pot, the Faculty Board of Social Sciences, meeting

on 15 November 2000 while the Turyagenda Committee was still deliberating, identified an issue of at least importance: 'it is the Faculty, not the Centre, which should determine how to use the 50 percent'.⁷⁶ Faced with a revolt of the revenue-earning Faculties and without an interested central government to give it backing, Council beat a hasty retreat. The Dean of Law sent a memo to his members of staff on 30 January 2001 trumpeting victory: 'At a meeting of Deans and Directors with the Vice Chancellor and other members of the Central Administration, it was agreed that the proposed Council guidelines on the budgeting of privately generated monies be suspended until a process of consultation with all affected parties has taken place. It was also agreed that the deduction of monies that was effected to earlier disbursements be refunded.'⁷⁷

In retreat, Council also tried to cover its tracks. It restored a separate formula for the division of fees paid for Evening (vs. Day) 'private' programmes, increased the unit's share of private student fees to just one percent less than the *status quo ante*, and restored to the units the right to decide how to allocate and spend their share of private student fees. Euphemistically, the Finance Committee titled its retreat document 'Implementation of Council Guidelines', and said that all it was doing was to revise 'Council approved distribution' in favour of 'New Distribution to be used in Budgeting 2001–2002'.⁷⁸

The memo is worth looking at in detail for one reason. Forced to retreat, the Finance Committee decided to put its case as succinctly as possible. This is how the memo spelt out the major objective of the exercise:

The major objective was to cater for staff who in one way found themselves in centres which could hardly generate money for reasons not of their own and yet they were indirectly contributing to the development of the University in general. The Committee identified a group of staff from M6 to supporting staff. These needed a minimum of shs 1.3 billion.

It then proceeded to cover the tracks of a forced retreat: that the Council formula had not taken into account items for which expenditure was vital and that it was premature to have a single formula for Evening and Day fees since they were not yet the same:

If the centres were to follow the formula approved, there would be no money for other items for the centres and the operations would be at stand still. This therefore made it not possible to implement the Council approved new percentages. Further the fees for the Day and Evening programmes were not yet made equal.

It is this fact which is said to have necessitated a Council Review:

The difficulty in implementing the new percentage distribution was brought to the attention of Council. The Council advised that discussions be held with the Deans and Directors and this was done.

At the same time, the Committee also claimed that there was, in practice, no appreciable difference between the old and the new ratio for dividing private student fees between the Centre and the Units.

It was noted that from the analysis of the old and new percentages, there was not much difference as to what was to remain at the Faculty/Centre. It was noted that the problem arose when what remained at the Centre was allocated to specific items leaving no provision for other items. It was therefore agreed: To leave Faculties/Centres the freedom to budget for their percentage portion in the most reasonable manner they saw fit (p. 3).

But the tables betrayed the facts:

- Day programme:
 Old: 54 percent Centre—46 percent Faculty
 Council approved: 48 percent—52 percent

To be used: 49 percent Centre—51 percent Faculties/Centres

- Evening programmes, Masters, External:

Old: 37 percent Centre—63 percent Faculty/Departments

Council approved: 48 percent—52 percent

To be used: 41 percent—59 percent.

Whereas it was true that the change in the distribution of Day fees was only one percent, that in the distribution of Evening Fees was a whopping seven percent.

The debate and the action around the Turyagyenda Report and Recommendations confirmed that the Reform was driving a wedge between two kinds of academic units, those revenue-earning and those not. The clearest formal indication of this breach was the coming together of nine different Faculties and Schools—Arts, ICS, Social Sciences, EASLIS, Education, MTSIFA, MUIE, IACE, and Law—to form a semi-formal group, the Meeting of Deans and Directors of Income Generating Units. Significantly, the previous Committee of Deans stopped meeting roughly around that time. Conspicuously absent from the new grouping were the major Science-based Faculties. By the time I interviewed the academic staff at Makerere in 2003, the division between the revenue-earning and the non-earning Faculties seemed just as sharp as during the Turyagyenda crisis. The Dean of Law suggested an even more extreme form of decentralisation of finances: that a private student ‘should have two bank slips, and pay 40 percent to the central account and 60 percent to the unit’s account’.⁷⁹ The Associate Dean of Agriculture disagreed: ‘The Faculty should have a vote, not money’.⁸⁰

By the time Makerere entered the new millennium, the Vice Chancellor took an initiative that would stretch decentralisation to its limit. This was the initiative to reorganise the University into several Constituent Colleges.

The Proposal to set up Constituent Colleges

The Vice Chancellor was so enamoured with the idea of decentralisation that it took a donor to get the University to start thinking of its collective future as a single entity. According to the Dean of Social Sciences, NORAD asked the University to come up with a strategic plan in 1998–1999, which was ‘when the University began to think of itself as a corporate body’. The result was that ‘the University Council resolved that all units come up with a strategic plan’, and ‘the Department of Planning and Development got more involved in a university-wide planning process’. NORAD was followed by SIDA/Sarec, and then by the four US foundations. By 2000–2001, the University had created a secretariat for each donor fund: I@MAK for Rockefeller funds, the Bergen Office for NORAD funds, the Carnegie Directorate that oversaw the School of Postgraduate Studies and the Gender Mainstreaming Unit, and so on. Donors picked their protégés: NORAD, for example, picked three programmes and Institutes: Women and Gender, Food and Technology, and the Institute of Computer Technology. Instead of a single university-oriented strategic thinking, the result was parallel developments. Furthermore, the Dean concluded, ‘many began to get the feeling that we can be independent—autonomous—since we are getting funds from a particular source not as a University or a Faculty but as a Unit’.⁸¹

Those aspirations crystallised when the University set up a high level Reference Group—sometime in 2000—chaired by the Dean of Social Sciences, and comprising top management (University Secretary, Academic Registrar, University Bursar, Director of the Graduate School, Dean of Students, University Librarian, Acting Estates Manager, Director of Planning and two Senior Economists from the Planning and Development Department) and a consul-

tant (A. Ronningen). The Reference Group's work was funded 'as part of the Norwegian support (NORAD) to Makerere University under the Institutional Development Programme', and its 'specific objective was to formulate guidelines on the financial, organisational and administrative aspects of transforming Faculties into Constituent Colleges'. The group identified several problems 'during the discussions of devolution'; most of these ('increasing student numbers; demands for new skills; inadequate financial resources, infrastructure and staffing; inadequate facilitating technologies such as ICT') had nothing to do with the decentralisation effected at Makerere. The list of problems stemming from decentralisation itself ('fragmentation and duplication of curricula') was limited to a list of conflicts that had emerged in the course of implementing the decentralisation programme.⁸² Acknowledging that 'conflicts can degenerate into secessions and break-aways', the report went on: 'An example of this is the saga surrounding the creation of the Business School'.⁸³ Thus, it concluded, the need to 'rationalise' the decentralisation process and its management.

The group's report lacked any critical reflection on the process of decentralisation itself or its consequences. I shall return to this point later. Instead, it saw further decentralisation as the solution to existing problems: 'These problems are experienced in a situation where the management and administration structures of Makerere are hierarchical, overloaded and limited in capacity'. To reverse this was part of 'the rationale for the formation of a College structure at Makerere University', a process said to be greatly facilitated by *three* different developments. The first was the passage of enabling legislation, namely the Universities and Other Institutions Act, 2001, and the Makerere University Statute for Constituent Colleges: 'With the new Act, the Committee structure is increasingly bottom-up rather than top-down. It is moving from a centrist to a decentralised system of governance, with Faculty Boards

and Committees given more powers'.⁸⁴ The second enabling factor was that 'Makerere University itself can be seen as a classical example of how devolution can enhance participation (to) ignite innovation'. Borrowing some language from David Court's earlier celebration of reforms at Makerere, the Report went on: 'The limited devolution that came with the private students' scheme released tremendous energies for creativity in the delivery of academic programmes and the judicious use of funds. Makerere regained its academic glory as the "Harvard of Africa" through what has been described as the quiet revolution. It can therefore be argued that if the process can get further momentum, Makerere can play a proactive role in improving the financial performance of the Institution'.⁸⁵ Finally, the Report described how, already, 'processes for the formation of Colleges have been initiated with financial support from the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations'.⁸⁶

The Reference Group issued a second document with the same date as the first (18 November 2004).⁸⁷ Table I of this document puts forth a list of seven proposed Colleges under which all existing academic units would be reorganised:⁸⁸

- College of Health Sciences
- College of Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine
- College of Humanities and Behavioural Sciences
- College of Law, Economics and Business
- College of Natural and Physical Sciences
- College of Design and Engineering Sciences
- College of Education and Distance Learning.

It is worth looking at the response of existing Faculties/Institutes to this proposal: unsurprisingly, most sensed a financial advantage in greater autonomy, and most demanded a College status. The Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics said it 'deserves

upgrading to a College because of its unique setup'.⁸⁹ ICS too wanted to become a College of Computing and Information Technology.⁹⁰ Whereas Education accepted that it merge with IACE to form a College, IACE wanted to 'become an autonomous College rather than combine with the School of Education to form such a College'.⁹¹ The Faculty Board of Law argued that 'Economics and Business have no "natural" linkage to Law', and that 'the Faculty of Law, even as it stands presently, has the human and institutional capacity to form an autonomous College of Law'.⁹² Veterinary Medicine, too, rejected the idea that it merge with Agriculture and Forestry to form a single College. Instead, it argued, 'Faculties that meet agreed upon guidelines should be encouraged to grow into Colleges rather than restrict the University to seven Colleges only as proposed. The principle of evolving Colleges based on internal experiences, realities, goals and best practices should be upheld'.⁹³

The response of Faculties and Institutes makes it clear that their resistance was not to further devolution of powers but to merger with other units to form a single Constituent College. The same is clear from the three Foundation-supported 'bottom-up experiences' surveyed by the Reference Group. Not surprisingly, the only experience that could be termed a success was one that involved a further devolution of powers (with the merger between the Faculty of Medicine and the Institute of Public Health really a secondary aspect), whereas the other two instances which involved mergers of previously separate units had run into troubled waters. Whereas it described the smooth way in which the transformation of the Faculty of Medicine and the Institute of Public Health into a College of Health Sciences had proceeded, the Report of the Reference group had not a word to say why this progress was not registered by the other two initiatives. Could it be that the problem stemmed not from an oversight but from the fact that recognising these reasons

would raise questions about the very enterprise the Reference Group was charged with implementing?

The Reference Group suggested two different ways of dealing with the resistance of units to its programme for forming Constituent Colleges. One was the carrot, but if the carrot did not work, it was to be followed by the stick. The carrot involved the promise of greater financial and administrative powers and resources to encourage 'the Deans of Colleges who immediately or quickly adopt the College model.'⁹⁴

- (a) They will be given greater financial powers in determining their programmes' fee structure;
- (b) The contribution of Colleges to the Centre will be less than that of the Faculties, Schools/Institutes since the Colleges will have been given more administrative responsibilities for the devolved services;
- (c) Some members of the staff at the Centre will be posted to the Colleges to be formed first on a first come first served basis—those who be transferred will retain their pay role status at the Centre and thus will not cost the College budget;
- (d) Support from the development partners will be solicited for the Colleges that are formed first.

The stick involved a dramatic shift from what the Report called a 'bottom-up' to a 'top-down' approach. In plain words, if the units resist incorporation into Constituent Colleges in spite of the above carrot, they should be compelled to follow centralised directives. Why this turn-round? For an answer, we need to turn to two different sources.

The first is the Reference Group's sum up of lessons from its study tours to three different universities: the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa (June 2003), the University of

Malawi (February 2004) and the University of Minnesota, USA (November-December 2003), included in the annex to their Report. The comments record disappointment that 'funding is still centralised' at the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa in spite of 'the transformation process', dismiss the experience of the University of Malawi as one that 'does not seem to have significant experiences that will be of value to the Makerere devolution process', but hold up the example of the University of Minnesota College model as one that 'offers the best example of devolution to Colleges and, in principle, we recommend it for Makerere'. The Director of Planning said they were disappointed with both Nairobi University and the University of the Witwatersrand 'where Medicine, Commerce, Law are star performers in revenue generation but still contribute a higher amount than others do'. At the same time, he admired the fact that 'Wits has incentives for science-based students in terms of government support'.⁹⁵ One has the impression that the Wits and the Malawi examples were set aside mainly because they did not fit the *a priori* preference of the study group—for Constituent Colleges—and the Minnesota model was hailed because it did. Given this, the Reference Group's summing up of the Minnesota experience is both significant and surprising: 'Colleges should be established by the Centre (Management and Council) rather than to leave it to Faculties through a bottom up process'.⁹⁶ But there is still no clue as to why this radical and dramatic shift in perspective, from a romance with 'a bottom-up process' to a return to 'a top-down process'. The only clue I could find was in the minutes of the Management Retreat which discussed the draft Reports of the Reference Group two weeks before these were released (my second source): 'Apart from the College of Health Science, the bottom-up approach could not generate the necessary consensus to enable the process to be accomplished. Thus, although the bottom-up approach is democratic, experience at

Makerere University is that it lacks mechanisms to deal with unjustified resistance. The experience from the study visits to South Africa revealed that the process of forming colleges being a restructuring process inevitably requires (a) central driving force. The bottom-up approach needs to be guided by a top-down decision and clear stand to push the process forward'.⁹⁷

Not surprisingly, the top management retreat went on to discuss the mergers (and separations) necessary to effect the best possible configuration of Constituent Colleges, and then to suggest detailed re-configurations that might be enforced from above. The relevant minute, titled 'Size and Number of Colleges, Departments and Institutes' made the following recommendations:⁹⁸

- Veterinary Medicine is more inclined to Agriculture and it should together with the Faculty of Agriculture be in the same College...
- ISAE creates duplication and does not fit properly either in Science or in Economics. Subject to the existing Agreement for the Regional Project, it should be dissolved into various units; Demography to move to College of Humanities and Behavioural Sciences while the economics component should go to the College of Law, Economics and Management and the Statistics component to go to the Department of Mathematics in Science.
- Gender as a course should be a cross-cutting course to be taught in all courses with the aim of engendering all University students...
- The creation of Colleges should reduce compartmentalisation and increase in flexibility plus interdisciplinarity among the courses offered in the University. Students should be free to take various courses from various Colleges for their degrees.

The Report then goes on to suggest the re-positioning of specific programmes and Departments:⁹⁹

- Urban Planning should move to Technology;

- The current Departments of Zoology and Botany should form one new Department of Biology;
- Secretarial Studies to College of Law, Economics and Management;
- Development Studies course running in Department of History should be moved to the College of Law, Economics and Management;
- Environmental Management to the College of Natural and Physical Sciences;
- Educational Psychology to the College of Education and Distance Learning;
- Anthropology in Institute of Languages be moved to the College of Humanities and Behavioural Sciences;
- Department of History and Political Science should form one Department under the College of Humanities and Behavioural Sciences;
- Contract research must go to MISR to execute the research and on completion of research one goes back to teaching.

At the least, this list reads like an internal critique of decisions made by Senate and ratified by Council over the past decade on the allocation of programmes and courses between and within Faculties. In its place, it suggests an alternative way of ensuring quality control: 'Curriculum development should be by colleges and endorsement by the University Senate and Council and the accreditation by NCHE as required by law' (p. 18).¹⁰⁰ But for this to be more than just a cosmetic change, it would need to go beyond recognising deficiencies in how new multi-disciplinary programmes were designed and located in disciplinary homes to undoing those very decisions.

One can get some sense of the scale of this task from the response of the Faculty of Arts to the Report of the Reference Group.¹⁰¹ The Faculty Board proposed that the College of Humanities and Behavioural Sciences consist of three Faculties, wherein the first (Basic Humanities) would consist of the Humanities disciplines that had historically constituted the Faculty of Arts and the second (Behavioural Sciences) would comprise the disciplines that had historically been grouped under the Faculty of Social Sciences. But the third (Geographical Sciences) was a misnomer for a conglomeration of mainly vocational inter-disciplinary programmes (Tourism, Environment, Urban Planning, Meteorology, Land Use and Development) housed in various Departments, but mainly Geography, for reasons that could not be justified on disciplinary grounds. The problem was, of course, larger than just that of misplaced homes for inter-disciplinary programmes. At its heart was the vocationalisation of education in the Humanities-based Faculties. This, however, was a question that neither the Reference Group nor the Management Retreat had either identified or faced.¹⁰²

The only considered and comprehensive critique of the proposal to create Constituent Colleges came from ISAE.¹⁰³ ISAE raised two important sets of questions. The first questioned the central administration's conversion to 'a top-down approach'. Why, the Institute asked, was 'the proposed formation of Colleges ... based on the Minnesota Model, the only model referred to in the paper and yet there are models the world over., in particular those of 'the Universities of Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi which are closer to Makerere University'? The document went on to reiterate the key article of faith of those who stood for further decentralisation: 'For the process of the formation of colleges to be successful, interested Faculties/Schools/Institutes should be the ones to initiate the proposal for merger like in the case of a College of Health Sciences'. In other words, was there not a contradiction in the notion of

imposing decentralisation from above? ISAE then went on to question the consequences of a top-down approach. Why the rush to decentralise? 'The process for the formation of Colleges should not be made en masse as proposed by the consultants in the paper. A gradual process may ensure experimentation, monitoring and evaluation of the new structure, thus minimising errors'.¹⁰⁴ Why exclude the academic staff from the process of implementation? 'The proposed committees to run Colleges/Faculties/Institutes ignore the Academic Staff and mention little on the role of the University Senate'.

The second set of questions went on to challenge key articles of faith in the romance with 'decentralisation', even if that faith was only a lingering one in the Central Management. One, why presume that decentralisation would lead to reduced costs of administration especially since, one might add, it was driven by newly corporatised Deans and Directors? 'The new proposed College structure will actually increase the cost of managing the University because it is replacing unpaid Faculty structures—like the Deans/Directors, Deputy Deans/Directors with paid structures like the Dean/Deputy Dean, Director of Planning, Human Resource Manager, Dean of Students, ICT Coordinator, Estates Officials, etc. This is not consistent with the objective of cutting administrative costs'.¹⁰⁵ Second, would not this corporate model replace the remnants of the collegial model and further marginalise the academic staff from decision-making processes within the University? 'The proposed College structure is likely to isolate the academic mainstream staff from participating in the programmes.' Finally, ISAE went on to ask whether there was any basis for assuming that decentralisation would reduce inefficiency. 'Mergers may increase inefficiency rather than promote efficiency. The University is already experiencing problems with registration of students, so merger will make it worse'.

Faced with the possibility of a top-down imposition of a College Structure, ISAE had embarked on a critique of the very project to form colleges. Though noteworthy, the critique could only mark a beginning—a beginning of a critical review of the reform process that had unfolded over the past decade.

Notes

1. *Minutes of the 95th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 1 and 2 October 2003, in the Council Room: p. 27.
2. *Minutes of the Meeting Between the Central Executive and Members of the Faculty of Social Sciences*, Held on 15 January 2001: p. 4.
3. *Minutes of the 70th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 24 November, and 20 December 1994, in the Council Room, Makerere University: p. 39.
4. *Minutes of the 84th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 17 and 18 April 2000 in the Council Room: p. 18.
5. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 103rd Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on 3 December 1999 in the Lower Lecture Theatre (New Building): p. 12.
6. *Continuation of the 87th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on 14 March 1994: p. 6.
7. David Court, 'Financing Higher Education in Africa: Makerere, the Quiet Revolution', April 1999, mimeo.
8. To his credit, Court was cautious about his remarks on the impact of the reforms on research: 'It is difficult, if not premature, to reach a conclusion about the effect of privatisation and reform upon the volume and quality of research output.' He recognised the contradictory pressures on research. On the positive side: 'The overall revitalisation of the university and the payment of a living wage to faculty increases the opportunity for research.' But on the negative side, 'the intensifying incentive system, associated with privatisation, encourages the allocation of more time to teaching and little for research'. Then followed the empirical observation: 'Faculties vary in their research output, with Agriculture being prominent in its productivity and the Makerere Institute of Social Research putting out some publications that suggest a return to its former glory. In general, research funding

- remains mainly, although not exclusively, a donor domain'. See David Court, 'Financing Higher Education in Africa: Makerere, the Quiet Revolution', April 1999, mimeo, p. 11. Had Court built on this empirical observation, he would have realised that research continued in Science-based Faculties least touched by the reform and hardly survived precisely in those Faculties most reshaped by it.
9. Makerere University, *Minutes of the Finance Committee*, Held on 18 May 1993 in the Council Room: pp. 8-9.
 10. Makerere University, *Minutes of the 60th Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Thursday, 29 July 1993 in the Council Room: p. 5.
 11. Makerere University, *Minutes of the 61st Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Tuesday, 12 October 1993, in the Faculty of Science: p. 7.
 12. Makerere University, *Minutes of the 74th Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Monday 20 July 1998, in the Council Room: p. 5.
 13. *Minutes of the 79th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 24 and 25 August 1998: p. 35.
 14. *Minutes of the 79th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 24 and 25 August 1998: pp. 33-34.
 15. Makerere University, *Memorandum from the Faculty of Social Sciences to Makerere University Central Executive*, January 2001: p. 2.
 16. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Continuation of the 99th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on 4 March 1998 in the New Building: pp. 3-4.
 17. See, *The Makerere University (Establishment of Constituent College) Order*, 1997, p.3, for the Government Directive. See The Committee of Deans, *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Committee of Deans*, Held in the Council Room on Friday, 31 October 1997, p. 3 for the Vice Chancellor's account of the takeover to the Committee of Deans; See Faculty of Commerce, *Minutes of the 47th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held in the Faculty Board Room on 6 January 1998, for the response of the Faculty of Commerce: 'That sometime in 1996, the Vice Chancellor had requested the Dean to attend a meeting in the Ministry of Education that was to restructure Business Education. And that in the meeting, Makerere University was requested to take over the National College of Business Studies (NCBS)'. And further: 'That the Dean had at that time expressed a fear about the take over as this had been done in the early 80s and had not taken off, and wondered whether this would not happen again. But that he was re-assured that the Ministry had reviewed the matter and firmly decided to take that action'. The Dean's fears referred to a set

of events in 1984—1986 as summed up in the 18 August 1997 Report of the *Expert Group on the Rationalisation of Business Education in Uganda*: 'During the reorganisation of tertiary institutions in 1984 the then UCC Nakawa moved to Kololo Secondary School and Nakawa became a Makerere University campus under the faculty of Commerce. In 1986, the Faculty of Commerce was returned to Makerere and the NCBS was created. Following the Kajubi Education Policy Review Commission, a greater polytechnic incorporating NCBS, Uganda Polytechnic, Kyambogo (UPK), Institute of Teachers Education (ITEK) and Management Training and Advisory Centre (MTAC) was to be created' (p. 9).

18. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Committee of Deans*, Held in the Council Room on Tuesday, 20 January 1998: p. 5.
19. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Committee of Deans*, Held in the Council Room on Tuesday, 20 January 1998: p. 5.
20. '1. Do you really know the "real issues" the MUBS is all about? 2. Do you really know the true players in MUBS - NCBS game? 3. Why the speed of bulldozing every authority at MUK into accepting the deal now? ... 5. Don't you smell a rat as to why every matter regarding MUBS has up to now been top secret? ... 7. Why the independence of MUBS from MUK, at all, after two years? 8. Who stands to benefit from this arrangement? 9. Can't FOC (MUK) expand elsewhere other than killing NCBS?' Titled 'Makerere University Business School (MUBS)', the leaflet was unsigned and undated, but certainly was issued sometime in January 1998.
21. The Government of Uganda, Report of the *Expert Group on the Rationalisation of Business Education in Uganda*, 18 August 1997, p. 3.
22. The Government of Uganda, Report of the *Expert Group on the Rationalisation of Business Education in Uganda*, 18 August 1997, p. 11.
23. Makerere University, *Minutes of the 74th Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Monday 20 July 1998, in the Council Room: p. 5.
24. Makerere University, *Minutes of the 78th Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on 29 and 30 September 1999 Respectively in the Council Room: p. 10.
25. *Minutes of the 84th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 17 and 18 April 2000 in the Council Room: pp. 12-13; for continuing strains during August 2000, see, Makerere University, Finance Committee, *Minutes of the 80th Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Wednesday, 2 August 2000: pp. 3-4.

26. *Report of the Meeting between the Chairperson, Vice Chairperson of Makerere University Council and the Principal of Makerere University Business School*, undated, but the talks followed the Council meeting of 17-18 April 2000 which decided in favour of such mediation.
27. *Report of the Meeting between the Chairperson, Vice Chairperson of Makerere University Council and the Principal of Makerere University Business School*, p. 3.
28. *Report of the Meeting between the Chairperson, Vice Chairperson of Makerere University Council and the Principal of Makerere University Business School*, p. 7.
29. *Report of the Meeting between the Chairperson, Vice Chairperson of Makerere University Council and the Principal of Makerere University Business School*, pp. 4-5.
30. *Minutes of the 93rd Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 25 March 2003: p. 9.
31. *Minutes of the 95th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 1 and 2 October 2003, in the Council Room: pp. 3-4.
32. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 21 October 2003 in the Council Room: pp. 4-5.
33. *Minutes of the Special Meeting of Senate*, Held in the Conference Hall, Senate Building on Wednesday, 1 December 2004: p. 5.
34. Academic Programmes and Library Committee, *Minutes of the Fourth Meeting of the Academic Programmes and Library Committee*, Held on 6 October 2003 in Board Room One, Level 7, Senate Building, pp. 6-7.
35. *Minutes of the 119th Meeting of the Senate*, Held on Thursday, 1 April 2004 in the Conference Hall, Senate Building: pp. 28-29.
36. Makerere University, *Minutes of the 61st Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Tuesday, 12 October 1993, in the Faculty of Science: pp. 8-9.
37. Makerere University, *Minutes of the 61st Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Tuesday, 12 October 1993, in the Faculty of Science: pp. 8-9.
38. Makerere University, *Minutes of the 61st Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Tuesday, 12 October 1993, in the Faculty of Science: pp. 8-9.
39. Makerere University, *Minutes of the 61st Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on Tuesday, 12 October 1993, in the Faculty of Science: pp. 8-9.
40. Makerere University, *Minutes of the 1st Session of the 66th Meeting of the Finance Committee*, Held on 13 November 1995 in the Council Room: pp. 1-2. NB:

Private students at this point were mainly in the Day programme, with Law as the only Evening programme. The source speaks of distribution of private student fees without specifying Day or Evening.

41. Faculty of Law, *Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended 30 June 1995*.
42. *Minutes of the 71st meeting of Council*, p.124. NB: The source speaks of distribution of private student fees without specifying Day or Evening; also see, Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 91st Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Monday, 29 January 1996 in Lecture Room 2: p. 11, and Makerere University, Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 92nd Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on 12, 19 and 24 July 1996 in Lecture Room 2.
43. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 94th Faculty Board Meeting* of 6 December 1996: p. 11.
44. *General Circular No 894*, from the Office of the US to all Deans, Directors and Heads of Departments, 8 December 1997.
45. *General Circular No 894*, from the Office of the US to all Deans, Directors and Heads of Departments, 8 December 1997.
46. *General Circular No 894*, from the Office of the US to all Deans, Directors and Heads of Departments, 8 December 1997.
47. Turyagyenda Committee Report, *Implementation of the Council Guidelines on Streamlined Allowances*, pp. 7-8.
48. Turyagyenda Committee Report, *Implementation of the Council Guidelines on Streamlined Allowances*.
49. Turyagyenda Committee Report, *Implementation of the Council Guidelines on Streamlined Allowances*, pp. 25, 7-8.
50. Turyagyenda Committee Report, *Implementation of the Council Guidelines on Streamlined Allowances*, p. 26.
51. Turyagyenda Committee Report, *Implementation of the Council Guidelines on Streamlined Allowances*, pp. 7-8.
52. Turyagyenda Committee Report, *Implementation of the Council Guidelines on Streamlined Allowances*.
53. Makerere University, *Minutes of the Meeting of the Deans and Directors of Income Generating Units on the Proposed Interim Measures to Finance Staff Salary Increase*, 24 March 2004, Minute Extract for the Attention of the University Senate: p. 1.

54. Makerere University, *Minutes of the Finance Committee*, Held on 18 May 1993 in the Council Room: p. 8.
55. *Minutes of the 65th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 17 December 1992, in the Council Room, Makerere University: p. 13, made a distinction between two kinds of private students, those on government-sponsored programmes and those on self-sponsored (private) programmes. In the case of the former, 30 percent of fees had to be transferred to the administration; in the case of the latter, the Centre's share was 10 percent. Departments collecting new student dues were allowed to remit 10 percent of fees to administration. The basic principle was that 'Revenue generating departments would contribute 10 percent'.
56. *Second Continuation of the University Finance Committee Meeting*, held on 10 November 1993, in the Faculty of Science Seminar Room, see p. 8 for Day fees and p. 9 for Evening fees.
57. *Minutes of the 65th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 17 December 1992, in the Council Room, Makerere University: p. 2.
58. *Minutes of the 91st Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Monday, 29 January 1996 in Lecture Room 2: p. 11.
59. *Minutes of the 71st Meeting of Council*, Held on 29 and 28 November and 4 December 1995, dated April 1996, p. 124.
60. *Minutes of the 71st Meeting of Council*, Held on 29 and 28 November and 4 December 1995, dated April 1996, p. 124.
61. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 94th Faculty Board Meeting* of 6 December 1996: p. 11.
62. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 65th Meeting of the University Council*, Held on 17 December 1992, in the Council Room, Makerere University: p. 2 of Appendix (Minute 986, 'Business from Senate').
63. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 94th Faculty Board Meeting*, 6 December 1996: p. 1. See also Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the 107th Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Friday, 23 February 2001 in the Computer Room, Minute Extract: p. 9: 'Further, that the Committee of Deans were informed by the Vice Chancellor on the 4th December 1996 that the University Council had decided to deduct 10 percent from all Faculty income as a University contribution towards the new salary package for the University staff'.
64. *General Circular No. 894* of 8th December 1997: p. 1.

64. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the Emergency Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Friday 29 August 1997 in the Upper Lecture Theatre (New Building): pp. 4-5.
65. Circular Titled 'Makerere University, Distribution of Revenue Collected', REVDIST2.WK4.
66. Circular titled 'Makerere University, Distribution of Revenue Collected', REVDIST2.WK4.
67. The Turyagyenda Committee Report, *Implementation of the Council Guidelines on Streamlined Allowances*, pp. 17-18.
68. The Turyagyenda Committee Report, *Implementation of the Council Guidelines on Streamlined Allowances*, pp. 32-33.
69. The Turyagyenda Committee Report, *Implementation of the Council Guidelines on Streamlined Allowances*, p. 21.
70. The Turyagyenda Committee Report, *Implementation of the Council Guidelines on Streamlined Allowances*, p. 23.
71. The Turyagyenda Committee Report, *Implementation of the Council Guidelines on Streamlined Allowances*, pp. 4, 31.
72. The Turyagyenda Committee Report, *Implementation of the Council Guidelines on Streamlined Allowances*, pp. 6, 52-53.
73. The Turyagyenda Committee Report, *Implementation of the Council Guidelines on Streamlined Allowances*, pp. 56, 54.
74. Dean of Law, *Council Guidelines on Budgeting*, 30 January 2001: pp.1, 7.
75. Faculty of Law, Letter from Members of the Faculty Board, 'Council Decision on Distribution of Funds between the University and Various University Units', mimeo, 17 January 2001.
76. Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the Special Faculty Board Meeting*, Held on Wednesday, 15 November 2000 in the Computer Room: pp. 3-4.
77. Dean of Law, *Council Guidelines on Budgeting*, 30 January 2001: p. 1.
78. The Turyagyenda Committee Report, *Implementation of the Council Guidelines on Streamlined Allowances*.
79. Interview, Professor Bakibinga, Dean, Faculty of Law, 28 July 2003.
80. Interview, Dr Sentongo Kibalana, Associate Dean, Faculty of Agriculture, 7 July 2003.

81. Interview, Dr Edward Kirumia, Dean, Social Sciences, 31 July 2003.
82. The Reference Group and the Planning and Development Department on behalf of Makerere University, *Rationalisation and Management of the Devolution Process at Makerere University: Background and Justification for Introducing the College Model*, 18 November 2004, p. 3.
83. The Reference Group and the Planning and Development Department on behalf of Makerere University, *Rationalisation and Management of the Devolution Process at Makerere University: Background and Justification for Introducing the College Model*, 18 November 2004, p. 9.
84. The Reference Group and the Planning and Development Department on behalf of Makerere University, *Rationalisation and Management of the Devolution Process at Makerere University: Background and Justification for Introducing the College Model*, 18 November 2004, p. 6; for reference to the Statute, see p. 10; also see, Makerere University, *Statute for Constituent Colleges of Makerere University*, January 2005.
85. The Reference Group and the Planning and Development Department on behalf of Makerere University, *Rationalisation and Management of the Devolution Process at Makerere University: Background and Justification for Introducing the College Model*, 18 November 2004, p. 9.
86. The Reference Group and the Planning and Development Department on behalf of Makerere University, *Rationalisation and Management of the Devolution Process at Makerere University: Background and Justification for Introducing the College Model*, 18 November 2004, p. 10:

‘The Faculty of Medicine and the Institute of Public Health have for two years worked towards the formation of a College of Health Science. The Faculty of Medicine together with the Institute of Public Health secured a planning grant of US\$ 245,000 from Rockefeller Foundation and started working on its College in 2002. It completed the prospectus for the College in 2002.

The Faculties of Agriculture, Forestry and Veterinary medicine, and the Institutes of Environment and Natural Resources started working towards the possible formation of a College of Agriculture and Veterinary Medicine under the Committee referred to as Plan-4-Five. The process received funding of US\$ 176,638 from the Ford Foundation. Although the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine withdrew towards the end of the process, the College Prospectus Working Document for the College of Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries and Environmental

Sciences has been developed, awaiting the University Guidelines for review and implementation.

The third group of Faculties and Institutes to form a planning committee for College formation consisted of the Faculties of Social Sciences, Arts, the Institutes of Economics, Psychology and Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR). The committee was code-named Penta-Plan.Com and it too secured a Planning Grant of US \$100,000 from the Ford Foundation. A College Prospectus Working Document for the College of Humanities and Behavioural Sciences has just been completed and (is) awaiting University Guidelines for review and implementation.

The planning process of forming these Colleges has pointed to the urgent need to develop a framework and guidelines for the formation of Colleges and for devolving powers, decisions and actions from the Centre to College and departmental levels.'

87. The Reference Group and the Planning and Development Department on behalf of Makerere University, *Rationalisation and Management of the Devolution Process at Makerere University: Principles and Guidelines for Devolution to Colleges*, 18 November 2004.
88. The Reference Group and the Planning and Development Department on behalf of Makerere University, *Rationalisation and Management of the Devolution Process at Makerere University: Principles and Guidelines for Devolution to Colleges*, 18 November 2004, Table I, p. 6.
89. 'The Rationalisation and Management of the Devolution Process at Makerere University, The Comments of the Board of Studies of the Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics', Makerere University, December 2004: see also 'Proposal to Form College Structure at Makerere University, The Comments of the Board of Studies of the Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics', Makerere University, February, 2005: pp. 3-4. But the Board of Social Science recommended that ISAE 'should go to the College of Law and Economics'. Makerere University, Faculty of Social Sciences, *Minutes of the Heads of Departments, Deputy Deans, Coordinators of both Graduate and Undergraduate Programmes*, Held on Tuesday, 15 February 2005 in Seminar Room 2.
90. 'Proposal to Form College Structure at Makerere University, The Comments of the Board of Studies of the Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics', Makerere University, February 2005: p. 6.
91. On Education, see School of Education, 'Devolution at Makerere University', 23 February 2005. On IACE, see *Minutes of the Meeting of the Institute of Adult and*

- Continuing Education, Board*, Held on 13 January 2005 in the AVU Viewing Room: p. 2. Senate resolved 'to advise the IACE to rethink their proposal based on the issues noted above, in particular it was felt that the proposal might be costly to implement'. See, Makerere University, *Minutes of the 9th Meeting of the Academic and Library Committee*, Held on 7 June 2005.
92. Faculty of Law, 'Faculty of Law Position on Constituent Colleges', 21 February 2005: pp. 1-2.
 93. Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, Office of the Dean, 'View of the Faculty Veterinary Medicine (FVM) on Proposal to Form College Structure at Makerere University', 18 February 2005: p. 2.
 94. The Reference Group and the Planning and Development Department on behalf of Makerere University, *Rationalisation and Management of the Devolution Process at Makerere University: Background and Justification for Introducing the College Model*, 18 November 2004, p. 4.
 95. Interview, Mohamed Mayanja, Director of Planning, 28 July 2003.
 96. The Reference Group and the Planning and Development Department on behalf of Makerere University, *Rationalisation and Management of the Devolution Process at Makerere University: Background and Justification for Introducing the College Model*, 18 November 2004, pp. 18-23.
 97. *Proceedings of the Management Retreat to Discuss the Cost Analysis Study and Devolution to Colleges Reports held at the ranch on the Lake*, 5-6 November 2004, p. 12.
 98. *Proceedings of the Management Retreat to Discuss the Cost Analysis Study and Devolution to Colleges Reports held at the ranch on the Lake*, 5-6 November 2004, p. 14. There are two top-down measures being implemented here. Only one of these concerns the constitution of seven Colleges. The second concerns the requirement that a single course (gender) be compulsory for all University students regardless of discipline. Why should a course be made compulsory for all programs and disciplines? And if it indeed should, why should this compulsory course be gender—and not, say, development, or democracy, or human rights? Why, after all, did every strategic planning retreat pay unfailing homage to two principles that should guide the reform at Makerere: sensitivity to the market and to gender? Did the reason lie in external pressure from donors more than in internal factors?

99. *Proceedings of the Management Retreat to Discuss the Cost Analysis Study and Devolution to Colleges Reports held at the ranch on the Lake*, 5-6 November 2004, pp. 18-19.
100. The Reference Group's concern with quality is further reflected in the first limitation that it identified to the process of devolution in the section titled 'Overall principles for devolution': 'The University, as the award-giving body, must have overall control of its teaching, and must be in a position to account for its academic standards and quality of provision, and for its decisions on student admissions'. The Reference Group and the Planning and Development Department on behalf of Makerere University, *Rationalisation and Management of the Devolution Process at Makerere University: Principles and Guidelines for Devolution to Colleges*, 18 November 2004, p. 1.
101. Office of the Dean, Faculty of Arts, 'Views from the Faculty of Arts on the Rationalisation and Management of the Devolution Process at Makerere University for the Attention and Action of Senate', 22 February 2005: pp. 3-5, appendix.
102. Similarly, the Reference Group suggests that students should be free to take courses from various Colleges for their degrees but does not ask why and how that right ceased to be as reforms associated with decentralisation led to aggravated conflicts between units reluctant to transfer revenue to sister units, whether for teaching 'service' courses or for admitting external students in its courses.
103. 'Proposal to Form College Structure at Makerere University, The Comments of the Board of Studies of the Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics', Makerere University, February 2005: pp. 2-4.
104. The meeting of the Departmental Heads of Medicine and Public Health also agreed 'that the process should be consultative and should utilize a 'bottom-up' approach. It should not be forced down from above'. See, Faculty of Medicine, *Minutes of Meeting Between the Heads of Departments of the Faculty of Medicine and the Institute of Public Health*, Held on Wednesday, 16 February 2005 in the Psychology Lecture Theatre: p. 5. The Institute of Public Health submitted a separate response which reiterated this position: 'MUIPH disagrees with the fact that the Centre should create the Colleges or should direct the creation of College structures. The Institute strongly rejects a top down approach as suggested by the document ... No mergers should be forced on Faculties/Schools/Institutes ... We recommend that the University first experiments with the proposed College of Health Sciences then standardize.. See, Institute of Public Health, Office of

the Director, 'Documents Regarding a Proposal to Form a College Structure at Makerere University', 17 February 2005; p. 3.

105. Interestingly, whereas the Reference Group Report recognised that 'while the same advantages could accrue from decentralizing University functions within the existing structures - Faculties, Schools, Institutes', but claimed that 'the cost of administration would be prohibitive'. But there was no evidence to back up the assertion. See, The Reference Group and the Planning and Development Department on behalf of Makerere University, *Rationalisation and Management of the Devolution Process at Makerere University: Background and Justification for Introducing the College Model*, 18 November 2004, p. 3.

Conclusion

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE PUBLIC UNIVERSITY IN AN INDEPENDENT AFRICA

To appreciate the full significance of the Makerere reform, it is necessary to place it in a wider historical context. That context will allow us to appreciate the extent to which the creation of higher education institutions in the African colonies—particularly those colonised towards the end of the nineteenth century—has been an integral part of the struggle for political independence. In the next section, I sketch that context briefly, before returning to a discussion on the future of the Makerere reform.

The Historical Context

Anyone studying the modern history of higher education in the colonies will be able to distinguish between two periods. The first was that of the eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries when a triumphant and confident empire placed a high premium on

‘civilising’ the colonies, and universities had a pride of place in this mission. But once challenged in the mid-nineteenth century, the empire went on the defensive. Clipping its modernist ambitions, it opted for order rather than modernity, and higher education fell by the wayside.

This student would notice a sharp contrast between how higher education was prioritised under early and robust colonialism, the period of direct rule, and how it was shunned during the period of indirect rule that followed the upsurge of anti-colonial resistance in mid-nineteenth century. Not surprisingly, the colonies that suffered most in the sphere of higher education were mainly those that were colonised last, as the twentieth century opened. These were the colonies of middle Africa, the Africa between the Sahara and the Kalahari. Many will remember that world media in the decade of the 1960s was full of stories of how one African colony after another—Tanganyika, Congo, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia—was about to become independent with no more than a handful of university graduates in the population.

The colonies of middle Africa were divided into two groups. Most colonies had no universities as they approached independence. When they became independent, just as sure as the national anthem, the national flag, and the national currency, a national university too became an obligatory sign of real independence. Then there was a minority, comprising a few countries, which had one university during the colonial period. This was usually a university meant to serve an entire region, such as Makerere University in Kampala.

Higher education in middle Africa really began in any meaningful sense with independence, not colonialism. Take the example of Nigeria.¹ One statistic is sufficient to make my point. Colonial Nigeria had one university with 1,000 students in 1961. Thirty years later, in 1991, independent Nigeria had 41 universities with 131,000 students. And Nigeria was not an exception.

*The Developmental University—
the University of Dar-es-Salaam*

If higher education in middle Africa was a fruit of nationalism, nationalist governments built the developmental university, a university whose mission was defined as 'development.' The university that symbolised the promise of the nationalist era was the University of Dar-es-Salaam, where I held my first full-time teaching job, from 1973 to 1979.

The key achievement of the University of Dar-es-Salaam can be summed up in one word: decolonisation. At the most superficial level, this was the decolonisation of personnel, which went in line with the policy of Africanisation that swept one former colony after another on this continent. At a deeper level, this was decolonisation of curriculum. The transformation of curriculum cut across disciplines. It was spearheaded by inter-disciplinary teams of academics who designed inter-disciplinary courses meant to pioneer the study of development as part of a broader historical study of imperial expansion since the fifteenth century. Every student was required to take a full year course in Development Studies every year. The object was to historicise economic poverty and social backwardness as 'under-development', that is, as the outcome of modern colonialism rather than a pre-colonial legacy. The University of Dar-es-Salaam became the home of the new science of nationalism, political economy.

But there were also problems. The main problem with the agenda for decolonising the curriculum was that its historical vision was limited to that of the colonial period. Ironically, those who critiqued the colonial period came to share its time horizon. Studies in political economy treated pre-colonialism more as a point of departure than as an object of study. No wonder the point of departure often lacked depth, texture, and dynamism, in short,

history. Second, political economy was preoccupied with objective processes. The three-year program in Development Studies ended with a blueprint on 'development' in the third year. As an off-the-shelf blueprint, it claimed validity for every newly independent colony; there was little room for particularity or subjectivity, and little acknowledgement of differences in local capacity, whether defined by organisation or vision. From this point of view, there was much in common between this left-wing blueprint and the right-wing alternative that the Bretton Woods institutions would market in the decades of conditionality that followed; both claimed that one size fits all.

The discussion on colonising curriculum seldom touched the question of language. Could one decolonise curriculum without reference to the language in which it was taught? This led to a curious development in Tanzania. Whereas Kiswahili was the medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools, it had the status of a foreign language in the university, where it was the object of special study at the Institute of Kiswahili Research. In the university curriculum, there was little or no interest in the experience of countries with multiple languages or where the national language was not an imperial language (such as the Scandinavian countries, China, Korea, Japan, etc.).² The unintended effect was that students entering university came with insufficient preparation for English-medium studies. As a consequence, those who could afford it, began to send their children to private English-medium schools, and those who could not increased pressure for English-medium education in public schools.

Finally, there was little discussion of questions of governance and funding. All assumed that the university would be run as a state apparatus, as another parastatal, and the state would continue to be the sole funder of the university.

The crisis of the developmentalist university was part of the larger crisis of nationalism. The more nationalism turned into a state project, the more there were pressures on the developmentalist university to implement a state-determined agenda. The more this happened, the more critical thought was taken as subversive of the national project. The university was, of course, an incubator of both critical thought and of a counter-elite, whose critique sometimes veiled personal ambition. The more professors sounded like Ministers-in-waiting and sometimes even Presidents-in-waiting, the more their critique began to sound self-serving. In a single party context, the university began to take on the veneer of an opposition party, giving rise to confrontations that often led to strikes and shutdowns.

The relationship between higher education and nationalism in middle Africa was contradictory. On the one hand, higher education was a fruit of nationalism; on the other hand, nationalist power tended to stifle critical thought. Nationalists were seldom willing democrats. From George Washington to Indira Gandhi to Robert Mugabe, they tended to see opposition as evidence of factionalism and betrayal. Not surprisingly, by the 1990s, the question of university autonomy was on the agenda. To win autonomy, however, the university needed allies in society and alternate sources of funding. CODESRIA organised an all-Africa conference on 'Academic Freedom and the Social Responsibility of the Intellectual' in 1991 in Kampala. But the discussion on autonomy was just beginning.

Bretton Woods Institutions and the Assault on the Developmentalist University

The assault on the developmentalist university came from the new global development bureaucracy, particularly the Bretton Woods

institutions. They were home to a radically different developmentalism. The end of colonialism had led to the unemployment of a large number of colonial bureaucrats. Many were seconded to the bureaucracies of the new multilateral institutions, including the Bretton Woods institutions, and they were determined to take charge of 'development' in their former colonies.

The World Bank began with a frontal assault on African universities at a conference of Vice Chancellors of African universities that it called in Harare in 1986.³ There, the Bank advised African Vice Chancellors that it would make better economic sense to close universities in independent Africa and instead have its human resource needs trained in universities outside the continent. Unable to convince Vice Chancellors to do themselves out of a job, the Bank changed tack, and followed with a different strategy, that of conditional aid.

The second line of attack took the form of 'technical assistance,' leading to the inflow of expatriate staff from donor countries as technical experts, their salaries and perks paid from the component of 'aid' known as 'technical assistance.' The counterpart of this 'technical assistance' was the 'brain drain,' the outflow of national intellectuals, most taking up jobs in the West. Given the obvious difference between incoming expatriates who were securing jobs under monopolistic conditions and nationals who had to compete in open markets, economists are likely to tell us that those who succeed under free market skies are likely to be of a superior quality than those who shelter under monopolies. The World Bank estimated in 2005 that 'a quarter to almost a half of the college-educated nationals' of Uganda, Kenya, Ghana, and Mozambique, among others, live in 30 wealthy OECD countries. The comparable figure for India, China, Indonesia and Brazil is 5%, whereas that for Haiti and Jamaica 'rises to more than 80 percent'.⁴ Sandwiched between

international donors and critical intellectuals at home, national governments sadly acquiesced in the marginalisation of national intellectuals.

The Bank had a substantial critique of the developmentalist university. This critique needs to be disaggregated to distinguish the positive from the negative. The positive part resonated with wider audiences and earned the Bank much support during its initial call for a market-driven reform of universities. The first part of the Bank's critique was that the developmentalist university was duplicating an expensive colonial model for training a narrow and privileged elite. The Bank also talked of the need for greater university autonomy, and for a much needed broadening of the financial base for higher education.

Then there was the negative side, which in many ways summed up the core of the Bank's agenda, and had a deadly effect on the future of higher education in middle Africa. Two ideas need particular mention. Bank studies claimed to show that the rate of return on investment in higher education was much lower than that in secondary or primary education, and that the benefit was mainly private. The Bank drew two conclusions from this: one, that the beneficiaries should share a significant part of the cost of higher education; and, two, that the state should reduce funding to higher education. Overall, the Bank framed a debate in which the private and the public, the market and the state, were seen more as alternatives than as complementaries between which there needed to be appropriate relations.

The Bank was dead wrong on this question. Empirically, several researchers have raised doubts about the calculations on which Bank officials based their claim about the low rate of return on investment in higher education.⁵ The conceptual question, though, is the more important: the Bank's understanding of benefits as exclusively individual ignored the institutional and societal benefits involved.

Higher education is where teachers are trained and curricula developed. Without research in higher education to develop curricula for the entire system of education, all curriculum will be as an off-the-shelf imported facility, with little relevance to the lived circumstances of both student and society. If our object is to transform general education, we need to begin with higher education. Higher education is the strategic heart—indeed head—of education.

More importantly, higher education is the location where a society comes to understand both its weaknesses and its potential, through research and reflection. It is where an education for citizenship is forged and the range of leadership for an independent country is cultivated. It is where we develop the range of choices which makes democracy meaningful in different spheres of life.

*The Bank's Model for Market-Driven Reform:
Makerere University*

The Bank has taken to touting the experience of Makerere University as the model for market-driven reform. I have argued that two main reforms were introduced at Makerere in the mid-90s. I call them privatisation and commercialisation. *Privatisation* amounted to the entry of privately sponsored fee-paying students into the university. *Commercialisation*, however, was a product of financial decentralisation which gave substantial resource control over private student fees to revenue-generating faculties, departments and institutes. At the start of the reform in 1993, individual units were encouraged to bring in as many private students as possible by allowing them to retain as much as 90 percent of fees paid by students. A decade later, as much as 60 percent was still retained by the revenue-earning unit. The immediate consequence was that

there ceased to be a single university budget; instead of faculty votes in a single budget, there were now separate faculty budgets.

As faculties began to compete for students, they rushed to devise programs that would attract private students. The turf war between faculties was around the most lucrative programs: human rights, conflict resolution, secretarial studies, environmental management, and so on. The turf war developed around two questions: *Who* had the right to teach? And *what* did they have the right to teach?

The more relations between faculties got commercialised, the more revenue-earning faculties demanded the right to teach a program simply because they had come up with it. I have compared this to a right of discovery. Previously, of course, each faculty had a defined mandate and anything beyond its mandate was taught as a 'service' course by another faculty. Now, faculties began to substitute 'service' courses with 'domesticated' courses by hiring adjunct staff to teach it. The selection of that staff too was decided by financial rather than academic considerations.

The consequence is the development of two parallel universities at Makerere. One is the formal university in which academic staff is hired on a permanent basis by officially appointed bodies observing official procedures and rules that require teaching staff to have at least a doctorate to continue to teach. The other is the informal university in which the teaching staff is hired by unit administrators on an informal and short-term basis, where someone can teach for over ten years without even a letter of appointment.

But there is no Chinese Wall between the two universities. As staff formally appointed in a faculty is informally hired to teach in another, the informal university continues to make inroads into the formal one. The same person can be—and is—formally appointed in one department and has an informal teaching arrangement in another. With the spread of the reform, more and more academic

staff began to draw an increasing share of income from informal teaching where remuneration is based on hourly labor, as that of a casual—even if skilled—worker. The more academic staff began to be paid by the hour taught, the more was the compulsion to teach more; as a result, the average teaching load increased from 6 hours a week to over 20 hours a week. While student numbers increased more than ten-fold, the University officially put a stop to the formal hiring of new academic staff. At the same time, the teaching space increased only marginally. The result was a dramatic decline in the quality of teaching and a near-collapse of research in the revenue-earning faculties. The ‘reformed’ Makerere is an informal university where questions of quality have been thrown by the wayside and where fee paying students receive a low-level vocational education in an expensive campus setting.

What will happen if the World Bank is able to reform higher education in Africa according to the Makerere model, so that local universities focus on teaching to the exclusion of research? What will happen if we see knowledge production as mainly an external process, whose results are to be imported? Both problems, and solutions, will then come to resemble ideologically-defined, off-the-shelf offers. Those interested in research or dissatisfied with an externally-driven process of knowledge production will begin to move to overseas research centres or will simply move out of the university. Either way, the tendency will be to fill the university with mimic men and women. The university will cease to exist except in name; in reality, it will be no more than a glorified secondary school.

The importance of building research capacity cannot be overemphasised. Particularly in countries with a recent colonial past, research needs to be an integral component of higher education, for the simple reason that without a capacity for research we will not be in a position to define meaningful choices. Even the imparting of a meaningful general education requires developing a curriculum

that is responsive to local contexts and local needs, something that simply cannot be picked off the shelf.

In the debate in higher education, one side claims that higher education is a luxury for small and poor countries. The other side points out that without an institutional base for research, we will not be in a position to define any meaningful choices. One side points to the constraints of the situation as it exists—the funding problem—whereas the other side is preoccupied with how to transcend these constraints.

I would like to close this study with a set of observations. Let me begin with the positive side of the reform. I believe the Makerere reform shows the importance of sharing the financial burden of higher education between the public purse and private fees. This is what has been called ‘privatisation’ in the Ugandan context. The same reform, however, raises serious questions about ‘commercialisation’, by which I mean a dual change: one, an extreme decentralisation at all levels, academic, administrative and financial; and, two, the tendency to change the academic curriculum in response to market demands, uncritically and across the board. This is why I have argued that it is important to distinguish between privatisation and commercialisation.

Far-reaching decentralisation was a key element in the programme for higher education reform pushed by the World Bank. Its rationale was that the reform would provide the incentive necessary to turn the academic unit—at first, a Faculty, but increasingly, individual Departments—into the driving force of much-needed change. I have shown that the subordination of academic decision-making to financial considerations has had disastrous—even if unintended—consequences. It has meant an end to ‘service’ courses and their displacement by ‘domesticated’ courses taught by ‘poached’ lecturers. The cost has been paid in both the erosion of disciplinary expertise

and a turf rivalry between units—Faculties and Departments—that has created a crisis for inter-disciplinary education.

Ironically, the reform process at Makerere marched under the banner of 'inter-disciplinarity'. I have pointed out that the change in curriculum to reflect market demand, its commercialisation, was the most advanced in the Faculty of Arts, where it has led to a vocationalisation of higher education, leading to a low level of training with little academic rigour and no research base. But it has also made significant inroads in the Faculty of Social Science. When it comes to the Faculty of Education, the financial reforms have had the equally perverse effect of encouraging the 'domestication' of 'content' courses without the disciplinary expertise to teach them. One may argue that the continued inflow of large student numbers is testimony that this change was and is popular. But this popularity should only alert us to the need for expanded vocational education, best done by setting up a string of community-based colleges across the country. Vocational education does not need a campus setting. Most of the expanded intake at Makerere could actually be taught in non-campus single-building colleges, urban or peri-urban. A campus-based university is an extremely expensive way of imparting vocational education.

The real cost of the reform at Makerere has been paid for by what remains of the academic part of the University, mainly in its revenue-earning Faculties. This cost has been three-fold: increased teaching at the expense of research, reckless expansion of student numbers without a corresponding increase in physical facilities or trained academic staff, and a vocationalisation of the academic curriculum. These conclusions are more or less in line with those of the Senate Reports I have been discussing.

In Makerere, as it exists today, there is need to separate the vocational from the academic university, and non-research from research-based education. The vocational university is mainly taught

by part-time temporary lecturers, appointed and supervised by coordinators or deans. Parallel to this vocational university, and on the same premises, runs the academic university whose staff tends to be permanently appointed through established practices following known rules. Should we not move this non-research vocational education to separate, autonomous, non-campus colleges? This is my *first* suggestion for the reform of Makerere.

My *second* suggestion is to re-think the nature of decentralisation at Makerere, so as to separate the financial from the administrative and academic aspects. The decentralised administration of fees paid by private as opposed to government-sponsored students hides the fact that *all* students are substantially subsidised by public funds. According to Senate's own 2004 study, private student fees cover *less than 50 percent* of the cost of educating students, no matter the programme. Makerere's own experience, amply documented by the Committee of Deans, is that the vast majority of students entering Makerere cannot afford to pay higher fees. The decentralised administration of privately paid fees is the driving force behind the commercialisation of relations between faculties and departments and the vocationalisation of education in revenue-earning faculties. I suggest that all monies from all sources, public and private, should come into a single budget, with each unit having access to the budget through a specified vote. The corollary of a single budget for academic staff would be a single consolidated salary with a specified ceiling on their teaching load per week, and for students would be an end of any distinction between government and private-sponsored students with different entry requirements for each. The minimum but necessary condition for upgrading the quality of education at Makerere is that relations between units and faculties be governed mainly by academic, rather than financial, considerations.

If effected, such a reform would not only move the majority of students out of the Makerere campus, it would also create the

opportunity to re-design Makerere as a research university. We would then return to the big unsolved question of higher education in independent Africa: how to finance a research university. The question needs to be the focus of a public deliberation. As we debate it, we need to be fully aware that only a research university can provide the institutional framework for sustaining independent intellectual thought. Even if we should conclude that the cost of setting and running one is too high for a small and poor country like Uganda to bear alone, that should be reason to explore alternatives on a wider scale, including a possible return to the earlier idea of a University of East Africa.

It may be that only those countries with a dense network of higher education institutions, like South Africa and Nigeria on this continent, can afford to have a national research university. If so, others—small countries like Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania—will need to direct their efforts regionally, and collaborate to create a regional research university. But even in the small country context, one needs to think of a decent liberal arts college with a decent general education that responds to both a changing global environment and to local histories and contexts—a site for a general education that can produce a generation of leaders with a shared understanding and a shared vision. None of this can be left to the market. All of it requires willful and concerted action by people like us.

Notes

1. Sabo Bako, 'Education and Adjustment in Nigeria: Conditionality and Resistance', in Mamadou Diouf and Mahmood Mamdani, *Academic Freedom in Africa*, CODESRIA: Dakar, Senegal, 1994, pp. 150-175

CONCLUSION

2. Individual lecturers wrote articles and books in Kiswahili, as did university-based clandestine groups occasionally distributed pamphlets in Kiswahili, e.g., *Vuguvugu la Wafanyakazi Nchini Tanzania*. But all of this was extra-curricular.
3. See, Ayesha Imam and Amina Mama, 'The Role of Academics in Limiting and Expanding Academic Freedom', in Mamadou Diouf and Mahmood Mamdani, *Academic Freedom in Africa*, CODESRIA: Dakar, Senegal, 1994, pp. 73-107.
4. Celia W. Dugger, 'USA/Africa 1000+ Brain Drain', www.utexas.edu/conferences/africa, October 24, 2005
5. I am indebted to Michael Chegge for pointing this out at a workshop in Nairobi in December, 2006.

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INDEX

- Academic Freedom symposium, xiv
Academic Registrar's Office, 220, 221, 225; circular from, 32
African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF), 87
African Virtual University (AVU), 82-3
Agribusiness Management, B.Sc., 103
Agriculture and Forestry, Faculty of, 94, 102
Ahikire, Josephine, xiv
Akufo, Hana, xvi
allowances for students, abolition of, 19, 21
Amin, Idi, expulsion of Asians, xii
approved subjects, issue of, 41, 42
Arts, Faculty of, 119, 120, 121-2, 131, 135-7, 139-40, 140-1, 164, 173, 213, 241; admission of private students, 148; crisis in, 51-71; departmental conflicts in, 143-5; employment of part-time staff, 124-5, 126; income of, 216; moneys owing to, 132; poaching in, 130
Association for the Development of African Education, 200
autonomy, 84-7, 93

Babu, Captain, 204
Balunywa, Waswa, 207-8
Bangirana, Alex, xv
Beyaraza, Dr E., xv, 53, 57
biological children of staff, affirmative action for, 28-31, 38, 39
Book Bank system, 19, 23, 157-60, 171

'boom' (students' welfare), 14
Boyer, Dominic, xv
budget, single, restoration of, 226
budget cuts for universities, 6, 7-8

Cape Town, University of, xiii
Carnegie Directorate, 233
Centre for Basic Research (CBR), xiii-xiv
Centre for Continuing Education (CCE), 36, 39
Chick, Professor J., 38
CIDA, 87
Cisco Certified Networking Associate (CCNA), 92
Cisco Certified Networking Professional (CCNP), 92
CODESRIA, xiii, xiv, xv; conference on 'Academic Freedom and the Social Responsibility of the Intellectual', 259
colonial model of education, 13, 255-6
commercialisation, viii, 5, 15, 26, 52, 53, 93, 98, 118-92, 195, 199, 216, 262, 265
Committee of Deans, 19-20, 30, 33, 38, 152, 267
Computer Science, Institute of, 91-2, 91
Computer Science, M.Sc., 91
Conservation Biology programme, 95
Constituent Colleges, setting up of, 232, 233-43
corruption, 31

- cost-sharing, 11, 15, 23; crisis of, 19-24; privatisation as alternative, 24-8
- Council, 128, 145
- Court, David, 18, 235; *The Quiet Revolution*, 198-200
- Dar-es-Salaam, University of, 241, 257-9
- decentralisation, ix, 13, 33, 35, 173, 178, 193-253; becomes policy, 196-200; rethinking of, 267
- decolonization, 257
- Development Studies, Institute of, 143
- Development Studies programme, 88, 89, 135-7
- developmentalist university, 257-9; assault on, 259-62
- dictation of notes, 169
- distance education, 65, 81; crisis of, 82
- division of knowledge, xvi
- domestication of courses, 78
- donor fatigue, 90
- donor-driven research agendas, 104, 105
- East Africa, University of, xii
- East African Community, xii
- Economic Policy and Planning, M.A., 146
- Economic Policy Management, M.A., 87, 146
- Economic Policy Review Commission (EPRC), 14, 15
- Economics, Department of, 86-7
- Education Psychology, poor performance in, 148
- Education White Paper* (1992), 16
- Education, Faculty of, 57, 71-81, 84, 163, 165, 174, 213, 266; employment of part-time staff, 127; falling performance in, 79
- Education, School of, 123, 144-5; Book Bank system in, 159; falling student intake, 100
- Eiseman, T.O., 17
- English, as language of instruction, 258
- entry requirements, for children of university staff, 29
- Environment, M.Sc., 92
- Environment and Natural Resources, Institute of (MUIENR), 137-8
- Environmental Health Course, 93
- Environmental Management, B.A., 62, 65
- Environmental Science, B.Sc., 137
- Ethics and Public Management, M.A., 142
- evening classes, 16, 33, 36, 41, 58, 68, 74, 77, 83, 95, 96, 97, 167, 171, 176, 178, 193, 221
- examinations, 78; failed marking of, 75, 161, 163, 165-6; laxity of examiners, 80; payment for marking of, 77; poor supervision of, 170; students forced to miss, 172; timetable clashes, 173, 174
- exchange rates, changes in, 6
- Expert Group on the Rationalization of Business Education in Uganda, 205
- external degrees, 38; introduction of, 36
- fee distribution formula, 216, 217-23, 230
- Finance Committee, 6, 34, 40, 61, 83, 96-7, 151, 201-2, 206, 219, 223, 230
- Finance Department, 225
- Fisheries, B.Sc., 99
- Forestry and Nature Conservation, Faculty of, 95
- Freedom Square, agitation at, 23
- Fresh Water Studies M.A. programme, 70
- funding of education sector, 4, 17

- Gakwandi, Arthur, xv
 Gender Mainstreaming Unit, 233
 gender sensitivity, 99
 Gender Studies, 146
 Geography, Department of, 137-8, 143
 Geological Resource Management, B.Sc., 99
 GTZ agency, 139
- Higenyi Report, 41
 higher education: colonial, periods of, 255-6; relation with nationalism, 259
 Human Rights, M.A., 142
 humanities studies, seen as insignificant, 51, 53
- I@Mak.com project, 100-1, 233
 income generating units, 34-5, 218, 220, 228-32
 income generation, 74, 75, 122
 Industrial Chemistry, B.Sc., 99
 infrastructure maintenance, decentralisation of, 197
 Institute of Advanced and Continuing Education (IACE), 71, 81-3, 236
 Institute of Environment and Natural Resources (MUIENR), 93
 inter-disciplinarity, 53, 59-60, 63, 266
 International Monetary fund (IMF), 11
- Jjuko, Fred, xv
- Kayunga, Sallie Simba, xiv
 Kibalama, Dr Sentongo, 103, 105
 Kiremira, Edward, 90
 Kiswahili, as language of instruction, 258
 Kiyimba, Abbasi, 57
 knowledge economy, 24
 Kwesiga, Joy, xiv
- languages: African, under-represented, 59; of instruction, 258
- Languages, Institute of, 70, 129, 143, 144, 203
 Law, Faculty of, 165, 177, 197, 228, 236; failure rates in, 177
 lectures, deterioration of, 162
 Luboobi, Professor, 101, 105
- Makerere, University of: budget (figures of, 214; decentralisation of, 193); development of two parallel universities, 263; faculty incomes, figures for, 215; failed payments to Centre, 201-2; fees structure for payments to Centre, 231-2; financial crisis of, 6-11; foundation of, 1; funding of, 9-10; payments not made to Centre, 206; reform of, 2-3 (historical context of, 255-6); strikes at, 20-2, 26-7
 Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR), 73
 Makerere Study and Research Group on Higher Education, xiv
 Makerere Strategy Planning Workshop, 155
 Makerere University (Establishment of Constituent College) Order (1997), 204
 Makerere University Academic Staff Association (MUASA), xiii, 20, 21, 24, 26, 31, 33, 229; 1996 strike, 205
 Makerere University Business School (MUBS), 140-1, 195, 213; case study of, 204-12; friction with University, 205
 Makerere University Institute of Economics (MUIE), 80, 202, 203, 212
 Malawi, University of, 238
 Mass Communication, Department of, 56, 69, 143, 144
 Mathematics, Department of, 104, 147; poor performance in, 148

- Mayanja, Mr, 40
 Meeting of Deans and Directors of
 Income Generating Units, 232
 mercenary learning culture, 161-71
 Meteorology, Department of, 70
 Microsoft, licensing, 92
 Minnesota, University of, 238; Model,
 241
 Mujaju Committee, 128
 Mukama, Ruth, xv
 Mukawanason, Dr Hyuha, 69
 multi-disciplinarity, 98, 99, 131, 195
 Mulumba, M., 18
 Museveni, Yoweri, vii, xiii, 3, 24, 27
 Mushega, Nuwe Amany, 204
 Music, Dance and Drama (MDD), 52,
 60, 61, 63, 65, 70, 78, 129
 Musoke, David, 144
 Muwanga, Nansozi, xiv, xv
- Nairobi, University of, 238, 241
 Namann, Anders, 89
 National Research Council (NRC), 30
 National Resistance Movement
 (NRM), xii-xiii, 2, 51
 Nawangwa, Dr, 104
 Nigeria, universities in, 256
 NORAD, 92, 233, 234; funding by, 70
 Nsamba, Morris, xv
 NUFU programme, 104
 Nyamnjoh, Francis, xv
- Obong, Quintas, xiv
 Obote, Milton, xiii
 Ocaya-Lakidi, Dent, xiv
 Odoki Report, 177
 Oloka-Onyango, Joe, xv
 Opuda-Asibo, 102
 Oryem-Origa, Hannington, 101
- parental support for students, 12, 15,
 16
 part-time lecturers; 121-30; hiring of,
 144
 payment of staff *see* staff, payment of
 Peace and Conflict Studies, M.A., 69,
 70, 142
 PhD requirement for hiring staff, 128
 plagiarism by students, 170
 poaching of courses and staff, x, 60, 61,
 121, 130-1, 195, 265
 Pohjolainen Yap, Katri, xvi
 postgraduate programmes, turf wars in,
 141-2
 postgraduate studies, 145-7; funding
 withdrawn, 146
 primary education, 15-16; increased
 funding for, 10-11, 17; played off
 against higher education, 13
 private fee-paying students, 95, 96,
 100, 130, 175, 176, 193, 198;
 admission of, 16, 28, 32, 34, 36,
 38-9, 40-1, 65-6, 76, 81, 98, 118
 (figures for, 37); competition for,
 199; fees of, 267 (allocation of, 194,
 201, 221); impact on education
 quality, 177; in Faculty of Arts, 56-
 71, 148; increase in numbers of,
 150; seen as asset, viii-ix
 privatisation, 3, 5, 6, 11, 15, 18, 20,
 52, 118, 150, 199, 262, 265; as
 alternative to cost-sharing, 24-8;
 distinct from commercialisation,
 175-8; phases of, 31-43; support
 for, 26
 professionalisation, 53, 54, 59, 60, 64
 Professionalisation Committee, 58
 Psychology: Department of, 84-6;
 Institute of, 85-6
 public and private, debate on relation
 of, vii-vii
 Public Health, Institute of, 203
 publicly funded students, seen as
 liability, viii
 quality, question of, 147-50
 re-takes, problem of, 171-5

- Reference Group, 233, 241, 235-7
 Refugee Law and Forced Migration, M.A., 142
 regional quotas for students, xii
 registration process, 172
 Religious Studies, Department of, 73-81, 142, 164
 research: exclusion of, 264; funding of, 103, 268 (suspension of, 145); importance of, xi, 264 *see also* donor-driven research agenda *and* Stakeholder Oriented Research
 Rockefeller Foundation, 18
 Ronningen, A., 234
 Rutiba, Dr Eustace, 56
 Rwabukwali, Dr, 152
 Rwabukali Report, 152-5

 scholarships, 32; post-graduate, scrapped, 145
 science and humanities, growing split between, 212-16, 225, 227
 Science, Faculty of, 90-105; falling student intake, 100
 Sebuwufu, Professor, 51
 secession, 91; problem of, 84
 Secretarial Studies, 140-1
 Sembatya, Vincent A., 92
 semester system, 172, 175
 Senate, x-xi, 29, 30, 41, 42, 54, 62, 63, 78, 82, 85, 93, 119, 124, 128, 139, 145, 147-9, 161, 210, 218, 219, 240; Academic Programme and Library Committee, 79, 147, 212; Academic Quality Assurance Committee, 170; Ad Hoc Committee on Finance and Streamlining, 223; Ad Hoc Committee on Poor Performance in the Humanities, 149, 161-3, 171-3; Ad Hoc Committee on Psychology, 84-5; Harmonisation Committee, 136, 138; report on Book Bank system, 157-8; Science Committee, 94; Task Force on semester system, 166-8
 Sengendo, Dr, 51, 53
 service courses, 120, 131, 164, 195, 263, 265
 sexual harassment of students, 165
 Sida/SAREC, 89, 104
 Smith, Dr Jack, 144
 Social Sciences, Faculty of, 57, 83-90, 135-7, 151, 152, 155, 169, 173-4, 203, 204, 213, 220, 221, 229-30, 241, 266
 space: hiring of, 151-2, 153, 154, 226; lack of, 148, 150-7; use of dining halls, 156; use of tents, 156
 Sports Science, B.Sc., 99
 Ssentamu, Dr Ddumba, 72-3
 staff: absenteeism from lectures, 169; absenteeism of, 161, 162-3; appointment structure of, 226; ban on new hirings of, 150, 200; dropout of science teachers, 100; lack of interest among, 148; lecturers' use of proxies, 169-70; moon-lighting of, 122; not teaching effectively, 100-1; payment of, 77, 89-90, 91, 226; recruitment of, 204; shortages of, 32, 83, 120, 123, 170; temporary staff hired, 120, 200; tiredness of, 167 *see also* part-time lecturers
 Staff Development Fund, 221
 Stakeholder Oriented Research, 104
 Statistics and Applied Sciences, Institute of, 97
 strikes, at Makerere University, 20-2, 26-7
 Structural Adjustment Programmes, 11
 Student Guild, memo to Turuyagyenda Committee, 175
 students: absenteeism from lectures, 168-9, 171; admission figures for, 55, 213 (by programme, 66, 68); compelled to sign statements, 21-2;

- expanding numbers of, 4-5; lack of interest among, 149; poor performance of, 172, 176, 177; resistance of, 2; survival strategies of, 151; tiredness of, 167 *see also* private students
- teachers *see* staff
- Technology, Faculty of, 100, 139
- tensions between competitive units, 200-4
- Thatcher, Margaret, xi
- Tibarimbasa, Avitus K.M., 27, 223
- toilets: closure of, 177; privatisation of, 150
- Tourism and Leisure Management, B.A., 62, 65, 67, 141
- turf wars, x, 59, 88-90, 119, 130-45, 200, 263, 266
- Turyagyenda Committee, 175, 229, 230; report, 223-8, 232
- UNESCO, Forum on Higher Education Research and Knowledge, xiv
- Universities and Other Institutions Act (2001), 208, 234
- University Council, 6, 7-8, 18, 20, 22, 29, 31, 34, 38, 39, 41, 42, 54, 62, 64, 166, 194, 207, 209, 218, 220, 223-4, 233, 240
- University Library, 159; fees of, 160
- Urban and Regional Planning, Department of, 139-40, 143
- vacations, coursework during, 95-6
- Veterinary Sciences, Faculty of, 95, 104
- Visitation Committees: (1987), 14, 21; (1991), 14, 16
- vocational programmes, xi, 74, 97, 98, 119-20, 130, 131, 212
- vocationalisation, x, 42, 54, 60, 61, 63, 130, 148, 199, 228, 266; subversive of quality of education, 43
- White Paper on Education, 18, 40
- Wildlife Health and Management, B.Sc., 94, 95
- Witwatersrand, University of, 237-8
- World Bank, vii, ix, xi, xvi, 3, 4, 11-14, 18, 24, 25, 27, 35, 82-3, 87, 195, 200; assault on developmentalist university, 260-1; model for market-driven reform, 262-8



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Mahmood Mamdani is Herbert Lehman Professor of Government at Columbia University. He was previously the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Makerere University and the founding director of Centre for Basic Research in Kampala. He has also taught at the University of Dar es Salaam and the University of Cape Town. Mamdani is a past president of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). His previous books include *Citizen and Subject* (recognized as 'one of Africa's 100 best books of the 20th century' in Cape Town 2001 and awarded the Herskovitz Prize of the African Studies Association of USA for 'the best book on Africa published in the English language in 1996'), *When Victims Become Killers* and *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim*. He lives in New York City and Kampala.

ISBN 978-2-86978-201-3



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